

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Asia's challenge

If anyone thought the collapse of Saigon and Phnom Penh to the communists would end upheaval and conflict in Indo-China, or not have repercussions throughout Asia, events are proving him gravely mistaken. The communist revolution has yet to play itself out there. Where it will stop geographically is not certain. But, not surprisingly, the communists are pressing their advantage.

In neighboring Laos there is fighting again and the fragile coalition government faces imminent collapse.

Cambodia, for its part, is in the throes of a large-scale revolution aimed at "purifying" the populace. Millions of Cambodians were evacuated from the cities into the countryside. Foreigners who finally got out of Phnom Penh tell chilling stories of brutality, terror and the sheer "madness" of the exodus. As Sydney Schanberg of the New York Times wrote in his dramatically forceful, poignant dispatches:

"That view of the future of Cambodia — as a possibly flexible place even under communism, where changes would not be extreme and ordinary folk would be left alone — turned out to be a myth."

It is not necessary to be panicked by these developments. There is bound to be internal instability in Indo-China as the communists reorganize society and restructure power, just as there was in China after 1949. At the moment South Vietnam alone seems to be calm and without visible bloodshed, but tensions could well be simmering beneath the surface. The point is that communism is extending its frontiers and it would be dangerous not to recognize the potential political and social impact this will have on the rest of the world.

As the nations of Asia grope for a new

stability, it goes without saying the United States must do nothing to suggest it is weakening in its commitments in the region. President Ford has reassured Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and others that U.S. policy is unchanged. Congress, too, is backing away from any early call for a withdrawal of American troops in Europe or Korea. It is also leaving the administration's defense budget largely intact. This is wise. Moscow, Peking, and others must not be led to think that because of the debacle in Southeast Asia the U.S. is reluctant to act.

But while America must maintain a bold posture it is equally obvious that a lot of rethinking has to be done about where Asia's security arrangements go from here. In the short range it is not likely that Congress will agitate for a pullout of American forces in Korea but it is certain to address the question later. The predominant public mood after Vietnam is that the U.S. must never again commit its forces to a land war in Asia and that it will give military help only to nations willing and able to fight their own battle.

If President Ford and his Secretary of State do not begin tackling this question in an innovative way, the U.S. may confront another "Vietnam" in Korea at some future point.

The reassurances to the nations of Asia have been given. So much for that. Now is the time to sit down with Asian leaders, to hear out their perceptions of future needs and requirements, and to begin working out with them the kind of security arrangements which will best enable them to meet any challenges ahead. The developments in Indo-China are cause for concern and sadness; they should not be the trigger for despair and panic.

As the nations of Asia grope for a new

Sea law in a needy world

None of the more graphic events of the day means more to mankind's future than the prosaic process of deciding how to use, rather than abuse, the seas. For a world demanding more and more food and minerals the rich storehouse of the seas, vast as it is, has to be husbanded wisely and justly. It would be devastating if a heedless oceanic resource race were to develop because of the slowness with which the UN Law of the Sea Conference has been working toward agreement.

The session just ended in Geneva was not a "failure," as headlined. The leader of the United States delegation saw some substantial progress such as the "important procedural result" of draft treaty texts as a basis for debate when the conference resumes next March in New York. There has been a welcome spirit of moving forward rather than obstructing what is, after all, an enormously ambitious and complicated task of creating world law.

Nevertheless, the longer disagreement lasts the more the temptation for the U.S., Soviet

and other industrialized countries to begin the exploitation of the seabed which the UN has designated the common heritage of mankind. Such unilateral action would defy a General Assembly resolution of 1969 against laying claim to such resources in the absence of an international law-of-the-sea authority.

One of the sticking points now is whether such a body should have all the rights and control sought by the developing countries or the limitations sought by developed countries. There is an emerging consensus on such other matters as establishing national sovereignty to 12 miles offshore and economic jurisdiction to 200 miles.

It is vital to broaden the area of consensus, through such means as interim regional meetings, by the time of the next session. Without definite progress, some fears expressed in Geneva may sadly be fulfilled — that there will be a return to national adventuring, the formation of blocs and cartels, and other setbacks to the international good.

Nevertheless, the longer disagreement lasts the more the temptation for the U.S., Soviet

A time for Indo-American friendship

It is saddening that at a time of change and uncertainty in Asia, the United States and India, two of the world's most populous countries, are not making progress in relations in light of the recent wave of anti-American comments. Prime Minister Gandhi, for instance, referring to U.S. planes for a naval base at Diego Garcia, spoke recently of the "threat from the sea," a statement patently absurd. And India has not concealed its self-satisfaction at Hanoi's victory in Indo-China.

Yet Washington's new ambassador in New Delhi, William Seale, expresses doubt there can be much progress in relations in light of the recent wave of anti-American comments. Prime Minister Gandhi, for instance, referring to U.S. planes for a naval base at Diego Garcia, spoke recently of the "threat from the sea," a statement patently absurd. And India has not concealed its self-satisfaction at Hanoi's victory in Indo-China.

Some of the Indian abuse has domestic motivations. Mrs. Gandhi is preparing for an election next year, and her "threat from the sea" comment was probably made to justify keeping a state of emergency to restrain dissenting activity.

At the same time India is still fussing about Washington's decision to lift its embargo on

Sir Walter Raleigh just had it the wrong way around, ma



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Readers write

'A bulldozer for Jerusalem'

John Cooley's scurrilous report "A bulldozer battle for Jerusalem" is replete with anti-Israel canards charging eviction of Arab residents from East Jerusalem, demolition of ancient "family homes," and the undermining of Arab buildings by archeological excavations.

On the archeological excavations: Much of the excavation around Jerusalem's Temple Mount was begun while Jerusalem was under Jordanian administration and many of the current archeological studies are extensions of those excavations.

Cooley accepts Arab allegations that Israeli-dug "tunnels" have undermined several Arab buildings, but according to the May, 1974, report of Prof. Raymond Lemire, the UNESCO director-general's representative for Jerusalem, "no major work has been

carried out in the 'tunnels' since 1967."

Many of the houses cleared by the Government were slums built in the holy Western Wall. In 1968, 41 residents of the Jewish and the Muslim Quarters of the Old City thanked Mayor Teddy Kollek for the "thorough human care which was extended to us, which I profoundly and which afforded our families more decent alternatives."

Levi Davis
Director of
Washington
Near East Research
The Christian Science Monitor

Secretary Kissinger has been in Europe this

week for several purposes besides ap-

proaching the Turks about Cyprus. He also

went to West Berlin as a pointed reminder to the Soviets that the United States is com-

mitted to the independence of that city. The

*Please turn to Page 13

Bribe scandal smears U.S. oil firms

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Ford administration is interested in establishing full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China when the President visits Peking in the fall. But no final decision has yet been taken; and when it is taken, its nature could depend very much on what happens in Southeast Asia in the weeks ahead — and on China's role there.

Since former President Nixon's visit to China in 1972, mainland China and the U.S. have maintained diplomatic liaison offices in each other's capital. This arrangement left unimpaired the full and formal diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the Chinese Nationalist Government on Taiwan. This continued recognition by the U.S. of the Nationalists on Taiwan puts a brake on the development of any closer association between Washington and Peking.

There are two arguments, according to a well-informed source in Washington, why President Ford believes he must act sooner rather than later for full diplomatic relations with Peking (and the inevitable accompanying downgrading of the U.S. Embassy in Taipei to perhaps a liaison office). These are:

1. The desirability of bringing this about while Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai are still at the helm in China, since only these two veteran figures could probably sell to the rest of the Chinese leadership the hoped-for compromise whereby the U.S. would maintain most of its links with Taiwan and still be allowed to open a full embassy in Peking.

2. The need to complete any downgrading of Taiwan by the U.S. before the presidential election year of 1976. Anything that Mr. Ford's right-wing Republican critics could represent as a "sell-out" of the Chinese Nationalists might prove a potent weapon in their efforts to discredit him.

As recently as May 7, Mr. Ford said at a news conference that among his aims in the wake of events in Indo-China was "to reaffirm our commitments to Taiwan." Presumably, then, he would seek to keep operative the U.S. embassy.

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Buenos Aires

The mushrooming disclosures of multimil-

lion-dollar bribes and payoffs to various Latin

American officials by several United States

companies threaten serious repercussions for

U.S. business all over the hemisphere.

"We could be in for the worst jousting we

have ever received," a high official of a U.S.

firm with interests in almost every Latin

American country said privately.

Already there is new talk of expropriation of

various United States firms.

Many U.S. businessmen are concerned that the investigations now under way will escalate into a political vendetta in individual countries with which hunt characteristics in which opposition politicians and foreign firms will be severely tarnished.

Peru already has ordered the token nationalization of Gulf Oil properties for "notorious immoral conduct" even though there is no evidence of any payments made by Gulf in Peru. In fact, Gulf's operation in Peru is small.

13. service stations and a small-scale distribution network for products produced by the state oil enterprise, Gulf in Peru, is estimated to be worth less than half a million dollars.

But the Peruvian action is seen widely as a harbinger of new problems for U.S. companies.

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By John Quincy

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Momentous market decision

What will make a Briton's mind up

By Francis Renny

London

Britain In Europe, or Get Britain Out — that is the question. Whether it's better to suffer the slings and arrows of the economic crisis inside the European Community, or take up arms against the Common Market and by opposing end it...

Unlike Hamlet, John Bull has been set a deadline. On Thursday, June 5th, he must walk into the polling booth and put his mark against one proposition or the other. What will make his mind up? What are the real issues? What will the repercussions be?

For a start, there has never been anything like this referendum before. Britain has no entrenched constitution — parliament can vote to do anything it pleases — but if there were a written constitution, the referendum would almost certainly be unconstitutional. It has always been believed in the past that Englishmen sent M.P.s to Westminster not to represent them, but to govern them as M.P.s thought best through the exercise of their own unfettered judgment.

To a large extent rigid party discipline (of a kind that would seem intolerable to U.S. congressmen) has already fettered that judgment. But to maintain that "the People" rather than Parliament is sovereign seems, in the eyes of most constitutional scholars, an entirely new departure.

Most commentators agree that the referendum would never, in fact, have been held had not Harold Wilson been incapable of raising enough votes in his own party to stay in the Market. He could hardly have continued in office relying on the votes of the Conservative opposition (most of which supports the Britain In Europe campaign). So Wilson was obliged to go over the heads of the Labour Party (whose executive committee backs Get Britain Out) and to hold what amounts to a

personal re-election campaign, without the inconvenience of having to resign first.

The fiction is that, when the People have spoken, Labour will reunite and carry on in brotherhood and peace. But this seems hardly possible. Pro-marketeers like Home Secretary Roy Jenkins and Consumer Affairs minister Shirley Williams have already made it clear they cannot remain in an administration that quits Europe. On the other hand it is impossible to see how Britain can integrate with the Common Market if Industries Secretary Tony Benn and Trade Secretary Michael Foot — both passionate anti-marketeers — stay at their posts. Harold Wilson will have to play the craftiest hand of a long and crafty career if he is to come out of this game with his shirt on.

A good many ruling-class Britons believe that the best reasons for keeping Britain in Europe are political and diplomatic. They argue that Europe must be united to preserve peace and democracy, to stand up to Russia and the United States, and — through its courts and charters — to resist the state encroachments upon individual liberty that left-wing Labour members are trying to push forward.

But most of the public argument is about the effects of the Common Market upon British trade and employment. Anti-marketeers claim that far from easing British goods into Europe and drawing European capital into Britain, the reverse has happened. They also claim that Brussels has "stolen" the sovereignty of the House of Commons (that same sovereignty which, oddly, the anti-marketeers are truncating with their referendum). Most of all, they claim that European competition is costing British jobs — and the preservation of jobs at all costs is the top objective of the British left.

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Ford and Mao: a warmer embrace?

By Geoffrey Goodsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

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By John Quincy



The Great Wall of China: symbol of a past isolation

Norman F. Schreiber
The American Palestine
Southbury, Conn.

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TOKYO TODAY

In a visit to the Japanese capital Monitor chief photographer Gordon N. Converse discovers cleaner air; Western-style hairdos; and Kentucky Fried Chicken. See his impressions and pictures of Tokyo on page 16.

FOCUS

Napoleon wins at Waterloo

By Lance Carden

Boston

Last week, commanding Germany's World War II forces on the eastern front, Massachusetts Institute of Technology undergraduate Steve Simmons soundly defeated the Russian Army.

Such surprises are not unusual to the computer science major, who says Napoleon wins the board game of "Waterloo" about 80 percent of the time.

Steve and his friends at the MIT Strategic Games Society are part of a booming U.S. market for games that simulate historic warfare.

Sales of these games, estimated at about 62,000 in 1974, rose to an estimated 330,000 in 1972. Industry sources say more than 500,000 were sold in fiscal 1974 — despite the recession.

War games are not for everyone. Much more complicated and detailed than "Monopoly," they can take many hours, even days, to play.

In one of the most popular of the revolutionary new games, players assume the identity of magicians, clerics, or fighting men before descending into an imaginary subterranean labyrinth on a quest for treasure guarded by dragons, specters, sorcerers, and trolls.

Called "Dungeons and Dragons," this

excursion into a world of Tolkenesque creatures is played according to a three-volume set of rules. For thousands of young enthusiasts, such imaginative fantasy and science fiction environments have temporarily eclipsed their interest in historically realistic war games like "Stalingrad," "Gettysburg," and "Panzer Blitz."

Donald Greenwood, new products manager for Avalon Hill in Baltimore, talks about a war games "explosion," noting that in 1968 there were only some two dozen games on the market — now there are "virtually hundreds." He says the hobby is entering a new "imaginative phase."

"Dungeons and Dragons" is "not really a game, or even a simulation, but an imagination trip," he says.

Although most of the new fantasy games have come from small companies, even Avalon Hill — the first and largest of strategic game manufacturers — is negotiating with a popular science-fiction writer for the right to base a new game, "Starship Trooper," on his novel.

SPI officials estimate that 90 percent of those buying their games are middle-class males — some 50 percent between the ages of 18 and 25, and 20 percent are in the military service.

Howard Barasch, managing editor of SPI's trade magazine, *Strategy & Tactics*, says the company has been approached by U.S. Army officials interested in a special SPI game in officer's school at Ft. Benning, Georgia.

Middle East conflict, is already on market.

At least two more Middle East games on the SPI drawing boards — including one called "The Oil War" that will feature a foreign take-over of Persian Gulf oil.

"Sorcerer," the initial SPI medieval fantasy offering, will be released this fall and include the use of magic "such as would use any other weapon," one official explained.

The proliferation of commercially available strategic games also reflects a decline of traditional warfare simulators.

Dr. Clifford L. Snyre Jr., a mechanical engineering professor at the University of Maryland, began playing naval war games during World War II. Until a few years ago he had only two or three computer games from which to choose. Now there are at least 10 — possibly 20 — on the market, he says.

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Socialist burns newspaper in protest

Lisbon newspaper seized

Is Portuguese communism swallowing up socialism?

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The military men running Portugal have ducked the issue of deciding between Socialists and Communists in the struggle for control of the Socialist newspaper *República*. Information Minister Jorge Correia Jesuino — a left-leaning Navy commander — ordered the paper closed down Tuesday pending a decision by a special tribunal on the seizure of the paper by Communists 24 hours earlier.

Communists of one hue or another — usually acting through workers' committees — have managed to gain control of most of the Portuguese information media. *República* had been till now a holdout, with Socialist editor Paul Roga resisting his printers' demand that he and other Socialists on the paper's editorial staff quit.

After the printers' seizure of the *República* plant Monday, armed paratroopers prevented Mr. Roga and other Socialists from entering the building. Once Commander Jesuino had issued his order Tuesday, the paper's doors were sealed.

The Socialists — who won the biggest share of the vote in last month's election for a constitutional convention (38 percent to the 18 percent for the Communist Party and its allies) — see themselves, as do many outsiders, as the main guardians of parliamentary democracy in today's Portugal. Socialist Party leader Mario Soares has been particularly concerned by the inroads Communists have made, often through arbitrary or subtle action, to win control of the media, of local government authorities, and of the trade-union

organization. Presumably the Socialists, buoyed by last month's election success, decided they must make a stand when it came to a threatened take-over of their own newspaper.

The hesitation of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) — which has been running the country since toppling the right-wing authoritarian Castanho regime in April, 1975 — to intervene itself to resolve the struggle over control of *República* reflects a struggle going on within the movement itself. This is a struggle between radicals (who often find themselves in tandem with the Communists) and moderates, and between those who want to perpetuate their hold on power through an as yet unformed political party of their own and those who are willing to let power gradually return to the existing civilian political parties.

At present the MFA has the signed consent of the political parties — including the Socialists, the central Popular Democrats, and the Communists — to the military's maintaining veto power for three to five years over whatever decisions the party civilian Cabinet and totally civilian Constituent Assembly might vote to do. But the more radical members of the MFA (and the Communists, too) feel rebuffed by the turnout in the April 25 elections and the support then given to the Socialists and the Popular Democrats. Both these parties want parliamentary democracy in a civilian-run Portugal.

The struggle over control of *República* and the MFA's role in it bespeak the continuing uncertainties in today's revolutionary Portugal.

Sheffield cold-shoulders Europe

By Francis Renny

Sheffield

For more than three hundred years this South Yorkshire city, set in a natural basin at the foot of the Pennines, has been synonymous with the best in British cutlery, tools and special steels. In spite of this, it has some of the cleanest air in England, for its anti-pollution laws are rigorously enforced and its furnaces belch no smoke. The smoke over Sheffield today comes from a political battle.

Some Sheffield companies export as much as 50 percent of their output to the sophisticated markets of Western Europe. The steady reduction of tariff barriers since Britain joined the Common Market two and a half years ago has undoubtedly helped them.

VIEW FROM
BRITAIN

The managers of Sheffield industry are virtually unanimous that it would be a disaster if Britons voted, in their referendum on June 5th, to quit the Market. Tariffs would undoubtedly be re-erected against them, and there is no other market available for such advanced products.

But down on the workshop floor of the same factories, trade unions officials are mostly on the opposite side. To them the very fact that their employers favor the Market is suspicious. The British Labour movement tends to view the European Community as an international struggle to keep capitalist industry beyond its natural span of years, and to postpone the spread of socialism.

No one should conclude from this that the British worker is eager to join Moscow's flock behind the electrified barbed-wire curtain. British socialism is in many ways much older than Marx, going back to the Chartist movement of the 1830s and even to the egalitarian slogan of the 14th-century peasants' revolt "When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?" Perhaps the driving force of British socialism today is the fear of unemployment, and the assertion that the duty of government is to keep every worker in his job, whether or not it makes economic sense.

Even if he works at a loss, it is argued, that is almost bound to be cheaper than having Social Security hand out unemployment pay. Advertisements in the papers are to the public for advertisements. It is reserved.

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One Norway Street, Boston, Mass. 02115
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British workers

Efficient or not, does the state owe them a living?

sure, the unions' response tends to be: "Let the state take it over and preserve our jobs!" The Common Market, with its free internal competition and its rules and regulations administered from Luxembourg and Brussels, is seen as a threat to the freedom of a British socialist government to nationalize whatever it wants to and to protect ailing industries with postpone the spread of socialism.

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No easy promises from
Portuguese CommunistsBy Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon

"Truth . . . is to explain to our workers that it is not possible to divide what doesn't exist."

This was no reactionary capitalist speaking. It was the Communist Minister of Transport and Communications, Alvaro Veiga da Oliveira, who directly or indirectly controls 300,000 workers in road, rail, air and water transport, and in the postal, telegraph, and telephone communications network.

"Our generation is the generation of sacrifice," the minister continued bluntly. Short, roundheaded, reflective, and soft-spoken, Mr. Oliveira sat in his high-cellinged 18th-century office on Lisbon's famed Black Horse Square, explaining to a visitor that after a whole year of fervor since the toppling of 58 years of fascist dictatorship, it is time for Portuguese workers to knuckle down to the hard task of rebuilding their country's faltering economy.

Two miles inland from Black Horse Square, Communist Party headquarters in Lisbon are in a modest apartment building not far from the stadium where bull fights are held.

Here, in a small conference room behind a reception hall festooned with posters and crowded with well-dressed and curious visitors, Alvaro Mateus, member of the pro-

Communist section of the central committee, said his party was calling for sacrifices now, whereas others promised their countrymen "a good life for six months."

"To win the political battle, we must win the economic battle," Mr. Mateus said. "In the nationalized industries, the situation is very bad. There is no money to invest and there are great debts. The working class must work more and sacrifice more."

These are not exactly vote-getting remarks. But Portugal's Communist Party, which came as a poor third in last month's Constituent Assembly elections, has its eyes fixed on winning long-range control over a nation of nine million people, exhausted by a long colonial war and shorn of its rich African colonies, yet occupying a key Atlantic position thwarting the approaches to the Mediterranean and commanding ship traffic to northern Europe.

The tactic the Communists have adopted is one of unswerving alliance with the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), the group originally of captains and majors who carried out the April 25 coup against the fascist regime last year, and who today, through the 21-man Supreme Revolutionary Council, effectively rule the country.

Whereas the Socialists, who took 38 percent of the votes themselves, plus another four-odd percent for their fellow-traveling allies, the Movement for Popular Democracy (MDP), the Army has been impressed by the



Communists would demand sacrifices from the workers

percent, want the MFA to give their respective parties more say in the running of the government. The Communists have steadfastly maintained that political organization and the ability to mobilize popular forces count more than votes.

They did not get more than 12.5 percent of the votes themselves, plus another four-odd percent for their fellow-traveling allies, the Movement for Popular Democracy (MDP).

The Army has been impressed by the

liberalized party regime installed in Prague earlier that year. Since the Spanish party has continued this condensation despite several

Kremlin efforts — through former Stalinist members of the veteran civil war enclave group resident in Moscow — to undermine the Paris-based Spanish leadership, and bring about a reversal of the party line.

A party program — adopted in 1973 — also drew sharp Soviet attacks because of its criticisms of Soviet-bloc socialism and its own advocacy of a pluralistic and fully democratic regime.

The Spanish party — like the Italian Communists in their bid for some kind of alliance with the Christian Democrats — is apparently more concerned with presenting a wider, popular, and electoral image than its Portuguese counterpart.

Spanish Communists can hope for new prestige

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna

After events in Portugal, the small but well-organized Spanish Communist Party in exile has begun to scent its possible return to Spain in a not-too-distant future and, moreover, a sense of self-sufficiency, a failure that Western Europe really matters.

Spain has not been swept by foreign troops, it has never had an empire, and has never had itself up from defeat and start again.

It is her greatest handicap. Oddly, she bears a "Land of Hope and Glory" slogan. Britain today the chances are it's a Britain — "Get Britain Out!"

On the other side of the wall, a senior steel executive reported: "That's the very way to

accelerating efforts to build up the Junta Democrática uniting left to center-right parties and groups in a program for a fully democratic Spain.

The Soviets currently support the broad democratic front concept for Western Communist parties. (Reportedly, they are not altogether happy with the performance of the Portuguese Communist party — for all its pro-Soviet loyalty — with its overt harrassing of the Portuguese socialists.)

However, the Spanish Communist Party has long been at issue with the Soviets on the question of party independence and has engaged in bitter polemics with Moscow since the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

It was one of the first and most forthright to condemn the military action against the Portuguese revolution.

As one of the principal groups now

Europe

NATO scowls at Franco

By Benjamin Welles
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The United States has been mounting a quiet drive to "sell" Franco's Spain to the NATO alliance on the eve of President Ford's visit to the NATO summit and, incidentally, to Madrid. NATO allies, however, seem to be resisting.

In recent weeks U.S. ambassadors in the 14 other NATO capitals have been instructed to seek agreement for an "explicit" NATO tribute to Spain praising the latter's contribution to Western defense. While this would not mean actual membership for Spain in NATO, it would be a step in that direction. And it would please Gen. Francisco Franco with whom the U.S. is negotiating for another five-year extension of its military-base rights in his country.

Stiff opposition to any gesture toward General Franco, however, has arisen from NATO governments led, or influenced by, socialist factions: Norway, Holland, Belgium, and Britain. Their ideological distaste for General Franco's authoritarian rule burns undimmed 38 years after the Spanish Civil War.

"Why should we shake hands with Franco," they seem to be saying, "when the U.S. has a defense agreement with Spain that spares us the effort? We have our flank protected for us — and we are spared ideological pollution."

American strategists, with such unstable NATO allies as Portugal, Greece, and Turkey much on their minds, find this complacent attitude galling. Yet there is no blinking at the facts: Not until General Franco has passed from the scene is NATO likely to open its "gate to Spain" where the word "guerrilla" was coined.

In fact it is reported that not even the NATO defense ministers, who will meet on the fringes of the "summit," are prepared to allude to Spain's defense role in their planned communiques. So President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger face the unhappy alternatives of trying to ram through an explicit tribute to Spain in the face of stubborn opposition or tailing back on a unilateral American pat on the head for General Franco. Some passing reference to the Cailliole from Mr. Ford or Dr. Kissinger is the mouse that the American mountain, after much laboring, is likely to bring forth.

U.S. reassures Europe

By Richard Neff
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Brussels
The key purpose of the NATO summit meeting here May 29-30 is to display to Allied public opinion that the United States's commitment to the defense of Europe is not affected by the American withdrawal from Indo-China.

President Ford's trip here will mark the first time he has visited Europe since becoming chief executive and the first time he has met the chiefs of many Allied governments.

But the American withdrawal from Indo-China has not been mentioned in the official communiques. The reason is that the withdrawal will not be followed in the public mind by what is likely to be the more sensational, disagreeable elements in the meeting.

Examples are the presence for the first time in NATO history of a "radical" revolutionary chief of government (Premier Vasco Goncalves of Portugal); the presence of both Greek and Turkish Premiers, whose nations talked last year of war with each other and are still feuding over Cyprus; the refusal of the French to send their President or Premier (Paris will be represented by Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues.)

These headline catchers have no crucial effect on the basic U.S. commitment to Western Europe nor on close U.S. bonds with the European "anchorman" of the alliance — West Germany and Britain. Nevertheless, the American "re-commitment" may be partially



Spanish troops march in Madrid: with Franco gone they could swell the ranks of NATO

The planned Ford overnight stopover in Madrid May 31 is essentially a consolation prize for General Franco at a time when the United States wants to hold on to its nuclear submarine base at Rota, near the Strait of Gibraltar, and to continue using Spanish airspace, which one Pentagon strategist has described as the "door to the Mediterranean."

With General Franco nearing the end of a 40-year rule, with neighboring Portugal still bobbing like an erratic top, and with a shadowy "new Spain" emerging, U.S. policymakers are paying far more attention to Spain than is commonly supposed.

General Franco granted the United States the right to build military bases across his strategically valuable country during the Korean war, and ever since the U.S. has considered Spain an ally. But to Spain's

chagrin, the U.S. never has put this in writing. Time and again, usually when the base rights have been up for 10-year, or 5-year extensions, General Franco has asked for a mutual defense treaty (i.e., automatic U.S. protection). Each time he has been fobbed off, with carefully drafted statements that come near, but not to, the point.

Successive American officials have flattered the general, have condescended with him that the U.S. Senate never would add Spain to the list of 41 countries with which the United States had defense pacts, and then have flown away, confident that Spain had nowhere else to turn and never would ease the United States out of its base.

For 20 years General Franco, draped in offended dignity, has continued letting the U.S. use the bases and has taken the steadily

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The great art swap is on

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Leningrad

"This year is the year of exchanges between our museums and American museums," said Hermitage deputy director Vitali Suslov.

He had just been checking on the final restoration of some Hermitage treasures that will go on show in the Washington National Gallery next month. And in another hour he would welcome the latest courier with paintings from New York's Metropolitan Museum for an exhibition.

All together, the world-famous Hermitage Museum now has 12 or 13 exchanges with foreign museums annually. Like any museum director, Mr. Suslov would prefer to have the audience do the traveling rather than the fragile masterpieces. But as a second best, he is glad that political relaxation had made increasing East-West art exchanges possible in the past five or six years.

Mr. Suslov did not look particularly harried as he sat in his office in the Hermitage Winter Palace overlooking the Neva River. A large 18th-century French tapestry, Russian 19th-century malachite and gold vases, and the highly decorated domed ceiling in this former private theater of Catherine II combined to give a sense of serenity. But several times during the hour Mr. Suslov had to answer the impudent telephone to settle questions about the Hermitage exhibit going to Denmark next week and the Italian exhibit arriving here the week after that.

Museum officials on both sides speak of this year's Soviet-American exchanges with enthusiasm. Soviet works, going to the National Gallery and four other American museums this year and next under a private exchange arranged by industrialist Armand Hammer, include 80 pieces from the Hermitage's superb collection of Impressionists and earlier European painters and 10 pieces from the Leningrad Russian Museum.

Problems of preparing for all these exchanges include making sure that canvases are in top condition for shipping, protecting them in transit, and "keying them out" to their frames — making them taut again after transporting them in a slack state.

Mr. Suslov is here supervising the installation of the last of the 100 Metropolitan paintings for the May 22 opening. The Soviet half of this official exchange is already on display in the United States in the first trip abroad of ancient Scythian gold artifacts.

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Leningrad's stately Hermitage Museum



Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko

Sven Simon

In the Foreign Minister's speech, which was given at a celebration of the Warsaw Pact anniversary here:

"In an unusual move Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko has criticized U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger."

"In a major foreign-policy speech made only days before the two men met in Vienna for talks, Mr. Gromyko chastised Dr. Kissinger personally for supporting higher defense spending in the United States."

Other parts of Mr. Gromyko's sweeping foreign-policy review called for Israeli acceptance of a Palestinian state, criticized Dr. Kissinger's "step-by-step" approach in the Mideast as steps away from peace, and warned Japan against closer relations with China.

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Gromyko criticizes Kissinger

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of
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A Russian poet's lot

KGB questions about lack of a job
and application to emigrate turned down

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Advertisement

Leningrad now may be coming around to the tougher Moscow policy on art, according to unofficial artists. Leningrad authorities said a few days ago that there would be no site available for the exhibit the artists requested for May 20.

For now the poetry readings that were kind of offshoot of the art shows are continuing, however.

According to Mr. Kuzminsky, the readings were first discussed among 30 poets in February following the news of the art shows. After the February dissident novelist and playwright Vasilii Maramzin — in which Mr. Maramzin repented and was given a sentence — some of the poets were afraid and dropped out, Mr. Kuzminsky said. But others stayed together and compiled a few bound copies of a written book of unorthodox poetry.

It was the tenth-odd poetry reading by unofficial Leningrad writers in the past two months. Like the previous poetry readings and their sister unofficial art shows, this one was not disrupted by Leningrad party or secret police officials.

For the time being this relative tolerance contrasts with present-day Moscow and with the Leningrad of a few years ago. Moscow authorities, the poet said, "brought up an open-air exhibit of unofficial art last September, then after adverse publicity, permitted two later public exhibits."

When Moscow artists tried to continue with shows in their apartments last month, they said they were warned to stop by local officials. Last week one senior unorthodox artist, Oskar Rabin, said he was expelled from the Union of Graphic Artists because he participated in the apartment exhibits.

In recent months Leningrad authorities have been less forceful than Moscow authorities in curtailing unofficial art and poetry. Following the bulldozer incident Leningrad officials quietly allowed two unorthodox art shows to go on locally. One of these was held in the private apartment of poet Konstantin Kuzminsky in September, and the other was held in the Public House of Culture in December.

Mr. Kuzminsky, who is not a member of the official Union of Writers, earlier applied to emigrate to France but has been refused permission, he said.

Future of Panama pact hangs in the balance

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Another potential "Cambodia" site on the doorstep of the United States — Panama.

A brand new treaty on the Canal Zone — after 11 years of on-and-off negotiations — waits only final touches, with Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) of South Carolina already announcing he has votes to defeat it.

Tension mounts in small, proud Panama where riots, Jan. 9 and 10, 1964, caused 24 casualties and temporary severance of diplomatic relations.

Coming to implementation now is an eight-point preliminary "agreement on principles" signed at Panama Feb. 7, 1974, between Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Panama Minister of Foreign Affairs Juan Antonio Tack, promising a new treaty. It incorporates just those points which conservative Senators Thurmond, John L. McClellan, James O. Eastland, Herman E. Talmadge, Barry Goldwater, John Tower, Carl T. Curtis, Paul J. Fannin, Roman L. Hruska, and others to the number of 37 oppose.

A third of the Senate (34) can block a treaty.

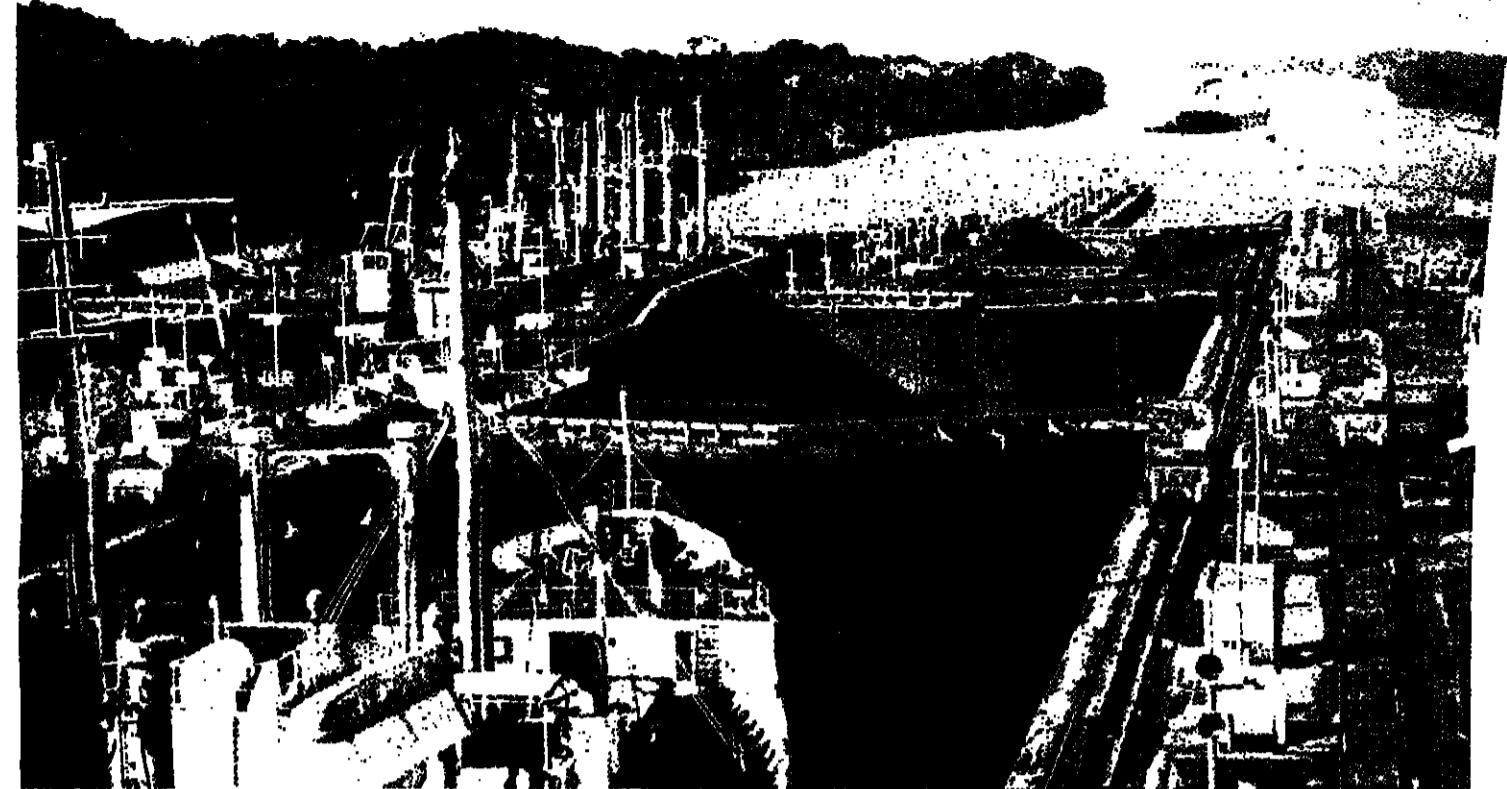
Developments seem hurrying the situation to a showdown. Foreign Minister Tack has been here in connection with the Organization of American States (OAS) meeting; diplomatic sources say the treaty issues have been reduced to a few, but vital, decisions. The Rev. Marcos G. McGrath, archbishop of Panama, a strong national advocate for treaty revision, is to hold a press conference here Wednesday.

Despite treaty modifications in 70 years, Panama protests "colonial status."

International events accentuate the problem:

— The world is dropping colonialism.

— "Third world" countries show increased militancy, expressed in the United Nations and elsewhere.



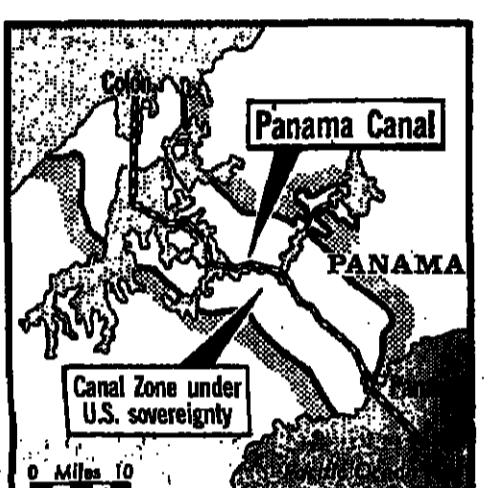
Miraflores Lock, Panama Canal

Peter L. Gould

— Guerrilla warfare gives small countries a new weapon.

— Natural resources receive higher economic and political pay in the shrinking world and Panama's natural resource is its location and configuration.

The eight-point Kissinger-Tack "agreement on principles" promised, in part: "An entirely new interoceanic canal treaty" (abrogating the 1903 treaty); elimination of the concept of "perpetuity" and substitution of "a fixed termination date"; recognized territorial sovereignty of Panama; continued U.S. "operation, maintenance, protection, and defense of the canal" until the new, fixed-date treaty expired; larger phased participation by Panama in administration, protection, and operation of the canal.



0 Miles 10

Argentina wins OAS election

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Buenos Aires

The election of Alejandro Orfila, Argentine Ambassador in Washington, as secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS) gives Argentina a big geopolitical boost in this part of the world.

But it carries a number of implied risks for Argentina, too.

It is recognized here, for example, that the staunch opposition of neighboring Brazil to the Orfila candidacy during last week's voting in Washington will not dissipate quickly now that Mr. Orfila is in the secretary-general's chair.

As Argentina's traditional rival for South American hegemony, Brazil is very suspicious of Argentine actions. This attitude is likely to continue and perhaps even grow as a result of Mr. Orfila's selection.

The *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro's leading newspaper, called his election a "tragedy for the inter-American system."

Paraguay also is unhappy with the Orfila selection. For a year, Paraguayan Foreign Minister Raul Sapena Pastor was one of two active candidates for the OAS post. During this period, Argentina came out in favor of Mr. Sapena Pastor over Dominican Foreign Minister Victor Gomez Berrios.

But last-minute Argentine pressure in the form of a decision of the government of President Maria Estela Martinez de Pera to openly support Mr. Orfila on the first ballot led the Paraguayans to withdraw Mr. Sapena Pastor's name.

Paraguayan-Argentine relations have taken a turn for the worse as a result.

Argentine observers recognize that these are not the only two risks that Argentina faces in having its man in the OAS chair.

For one thing, the hemisphere organization is in something of a state of crisis.

Many hemisphere nations question the continued usefulness. Some have advanced the idea that it ought to be scrapped, while others want a major revision in its charter to give it a more Latin American focus, perhaps eliminating the strong United States' role in the organization.

The secretary-general is often the focus of this debate and Mr. Orfila will be walking "on egg shells," as one Argentine commentator put it.

There are, moreover, countless small problems and disagreements within the OAS which will sap much of Mr. Orfila's time. Argentine prestige stands to suffer if these problems cannot be dealt with readily.

All in all, Mr. Orfila's selection may well be a tactical triumph for Argentina. But it is not an unqualified blessing.

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Dayan: Seeking a comeback?

By Francis Ofer
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Jerusalem

Moshe Dayan, Israel's once charismatic hero figure, is writing his memoirs, which he hopes will help him make a political comeback.

The former defense minister feels that undeservedly he has been made a scapegoat for the initial setbacks of the Israeli forces in the October, 1973, war and thinks that his book will confirm this.

One weighty voice has been raised in Mr. Dayan's support: that of general of the reserve Yigael Yadin, one of Israel's top generals in the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948. General Yadin was a member of the five-man official commission that investigated all the military and political aspects of the 1973 war.

In its final report the commission refused to pass any judgment on the question of Mr. Dayan's ministerial responsibility. But General Yadin said recently: "Mr. Dayan cannot be called to account for the mistakes of the generals. The reproaches against him are not justified."

Handpicked by Israel's first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, as one of his "bright young men" for the leadership of the state, Mr. Dayan currently is at the nadir of his political career — merely a private member of the Knesset (parliament).

But he could become politically active again as soon as a suitable moment arrives. His adversaries say that such a moment precisely is what he is waiting for.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has no illusions about what Mr. Dayan's attitude would be if his Cabinet were in trouble. The same is true of former foreign minister Abba Eban. Politically Mr. Dayan and Mr. Eban are poles apart, but they would make common cause if it were a matter of bringing down the Rabin government, which they both dislike intensely. Mr. Eban has said that if he were to become prime minister, there would be a place in his Cabinet for Mr. Dayan, although not necessarily as defense minister.

Mr. Dayan is a member of the former Rafi splinter group now back within Mr. Rabin's Labor Party, but his socialism has never been more than skin deep, and he now is flirting with the right-wing nationalist opposition bloc.

It is by no means unthinkable that he might gather up his followers and secede from the Labor bloc in the Knesset to set up a new coalition of the right. In the meantime he is working hard on his book, scheduled to be published in London by the end of the year.

He already has circulated among members of the Rabin Cabinet several chapters dealing with the October war and the subsequent disengagement talks. So far none of the ministers who have seen the book has requested any deletions.



Moshe Dayan: pounding out memoirs

Turkish divorce bill enslaves women says ex-Premier

By Sam Cohen
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Istanbul

A bill that would ease Turkish divorce laws has touched off a political storm and provoked women's groups even before its presentation to Parliament.

The bill, introduced by the Ministry of Justice, which is in the hands of the ultra-conservative wing of the four-party coalition government. The Minister of Justice, Ismail Muttugoglu, is a member of the pro-Islamic National Salvation Party.

Veheement protests greeted the announcement, well publicized in the press, that the bill would lift certain restrictions and difficulties in obtaining divorces. Incompatibility and quarrels would be considered adequate grounds, and the courts also would be empowered to grant a divorce to any couple living apart for three or more years.

Under present laws the courts decide on divorce mainly in cases of immorality and unfaithfulness. Claims of incompatibility also are considered, but must be substantiated by the testimony of witnesses — and judges usually try to reconcile husband and wife. The courts also cannot grant a divorce if the wife does not want to separate.

Another amendment in the projected bill would reduce the minimum age for marriage for men from 17 to 15 and for women from 15 to 14. And the bill would cancel the system of alimony for life, regulating it instead to the economic and social position of the woman.

At first glance, the proposals would seem

liberal and up to date. In fact, the opposite is the case. The new measures are opposed strongly by progressive political forces as well as "emancipated" women, who maintain that passage of the bill would threaten women's rights and social status.

This argument might seem strange to a foreign observer or supporter of women's liberation or equal rights for women. However, the majority of Turkish women still are dependent economically on men. Because of this and social pressures — Turkish society does not look with approval on divorced women — they usually do not want divorce.

The president of the Union of Turkish Women, Mrs. Gunesli Ozkaya, who long has campaigned for equal rights and emancipation, said that "Women in Turkey have not yet gained their economic independence. . . . They cannot adapt themselves to new conditions of life if they are left alone after years of marriage. . . . Therefore it would be unjust to leave the women to the mercy of men."

Former Premier Bülent Ecevit, leader of the Republican People's Party, also criticized the bill and said it would "make women slaves."

"A divorced woman losing all her economic and social security can never take her place in society," he said.

Other opponents see the bill as a demonstration of the concept of "a man's world" or "male superiority." The popular daily *Yeni Yurt* commented that in the Islamic Ottoman Empire it was enough for a man to tell his wife, "I divorce you." The paper added, "The bill gives the impression that some people still

have that mentality and want to make it easier for men to change wives several times."

The provision ending the system of alimony

for life (unless the divorcee remarries) is seen in the same context, although some social scientists stress that this system leads di-

vorces to sit at home instead of work.

Various women's organizations in the

age for marriage, predicting that it will

cause serious social problems and will

further increase in the birth rate.

Iran has been openly advocating the

gramming" of oil production — meet

the current situation of oil surplus, price

cutbacks — as well as the indexing of

to those of inflation-hit commodities.

Saudi Arabia now shows signs of being

view that combinations of both these

are necessary.

The Arab Press Service, a pro-

Beirut oil and economic reporter, quotes an OPEC expert as saying

economic commission "will study the

situation of prices, inflation, the

differentials under the premise

production levels and related measures

will make recommendations for a

meeting."

OPEC, now including 13 members, has

soon gain three new ones: Mexico,

the People's Republic of China, and

reports circulating here.

Left-leaning student activists and Prime

Minister Kukrit Pramoj found themselves on

the same side against the United States when

President Ford sent the Marines to Thailand

as part of the operation to rescue the merchant ship *Mayaguez* off Cambodia.

The Thai Government protested that the landing of marines at base on the Gulf of Thailand was a violation of Thailand's sovereignty.

The government then gave more than just tacit support to the student demonstrations against the United States that erupted after the incident, apparently in the hope that the demonstrations would strengthen its case.

The United States has delivered an official letter of regret to the Thai Government. Both the government and the students had demanded an "apology." High-ranking government officials said they were satisfied with the U.S. letter. But some people are wondering whether it will satisfy the students.

The government is going through the process of reviewing its relations with the United States, and before long a semblance of normality will return to Thai-U.S. relations," predicted a Western diplomat.

Claud in this cross fire, Mr. Rabin's key Cabinet colleagues are certain to divert their thinking about the next few days.

"But what will remain a problem is that the students now are mobilized," he said, "and

middle east peace efforts."

Israeli Cabinet split on peace policy as Ford summit nears

By Francis Ofer
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv

At the June meeting of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin with President Ford, closer growing pressure is being exerted on the Israeli Government from diametrically opposing quarters: from both advocates of a flexible policy toward the Arabs and from hard-liners.

The supporters of both approaches are represented within Mr. Rabin's multi-party coalition government.

Defense Minister Shimon Peres is the leading hard-liner within the Cabinet. Prime Minister Rabin agrees with the Defense Minister on most major national issues these days — with Foreign Minister Yigal Allon

more often than not sharing their views: "They constitute an inner group within the Cabinet."

But soft-liners are also represented at full Cabinet meetings, with Housing Minister Abraham Ofer being perhaps their most outspoken advocate. Only two days ago Mr. Ofer publicly disavowed the Prime Minister's pledge to establish a major urban center at formerly Egyptian Sharm al-Sheikh at the southeastern end of the Sinai peninsula. Furthermore, Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinovitz and Trade and Industry Minister Chaim Bar-Lev, a former Army chief of staff, are also known to have voiced "dovish" views.

This group of ministers from Mr. Rabin's Labor Party is further strengthened by members of the Cabinet from other parties in the coalition. These include the two representa-

tives of the independent Liberal Party, Tourism Minister Moshe Kol, and Minister Without Portfolio Gideon Hausner as well as the left-wing Mapam Party Ministers, Shlomo Rosen (immigrant absorption) and Victor Sherman (health).

Advocates of a more flexible peace policy have most recently been reinforced by extra-

political parties. First, a new and for the time being minor political party, Yaad, has just been formed. It consists of the three members in Parliament: Mrs. Shulamit Aloni's Citizens' Rights Party, of the dissident Labor Party member of Parliament, Arie Eliaz, and of a breakaway group from the Labor Party's "ideological circle," led by former party organ editor David Shulam.

Second, two formerly high-ranking national

Vietnam joins Asian power game

Hanoi: Balking friends?

By Victor Zorza
Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

Hanoi daily carried a series of articles by Gen. Nguyen Vo Giap, the defense minister, of the kind that he has often published before on the eve of a major offensive. He insisted on the importance of Marxist-Leninist precepts, but he presented them in a nationalist Vietnamese source which neither Moscow nor Peking would find to its taste. In a similar series of articles which he wrote more than 15 years ago to celebrate the victory of Dien Bien Phu, General Giap explained why the Vietnamese revolution differed from both Russia's and China's, and why it followed its own path.

These words, from the Army paper *Quan Doi Mien Dan*, are being repeated in dozens of different ways in newspaper articles and radio broadcasts which stress the historic nature of the defeat inflicted on "four successive U.S. presidents." The United States, which after World War II became the world's "strongest nation," economically, came to believe that material power allowed it "to become an international gendarme," to rally the forces of "international capitalism," and to stop the forces of socialism.

Both Moscow and Peking see Indo-China as the route to influence in large areas of Asia. They may be as wrong as Washington was, but great powers do not learn from each other's mistakes. In competing for influence in Hanoi, they may — as great powers often do — seek a degree of control which the Vietnamese would see as infringing their own independence, as has happened on earlier occasions when Sino-Soviet rivalry was focused on Hanoi.

Both the Kremlin and Peking may feel entitled to some reward for their arms aid, but Hanoi may prefer to pay in agricultural produce rather than in strategic facilities and in political influence. To protect itself against too tight an embrace by its big brothers, while extracting continued economic aid from them, Hanoi will need allies in the world communist movement, and in the "national liberation movement," where Moscow and Peking are competing for influence. One way to gain such allies is to obtain recognition of Hanoi's own "revolutionary model," and to inspire its emulation if possible.

This is where the intense nationalism of the Vietnamese communists, which leads them to claim a unique role in developing a model suitable for other nations, could cause them to become a challenge to both Moscow and



The conqueror asks price of cameras in Saigon market

because all three are communist, and because the two bigger powers have imperial ambitions in the area.

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Pathet Lao oust Americans

After toppling right-wing leadership Laotian Reds put pressure on U.S.

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Vientiane, Laos

Once again under the threat of violence this theme is muted, while the United States is excreted. But the United States is withdrawing from the area. In the long run Russia and China could present a greater threat to Vietnam, precisely

the encouragement of the Pathet Lao, who now hold the upper hand in this country. The demonstrations have coincided with a series of carefully orchestrated moves aimed at reducing the influence of the right-wing generals and politicians who once had enjoyed strong American support. Within two weeks, in the face of Pathet Lao military and political pressures, the right-wing leadership has collapsed. A number of leading rightist generals and government officials have fled the country.

The turn toward greater violence casts considerable doubt over the future of the American aid program here. In the royal capital of Luang Prabang, in northern Laos, a sizable anti-American demonstration recently resulted in the evacuation of 11 American officials. The demonstrators broke into a U.S. aid compound and threw chairs and typewriters through the windows. The Americans left Luang Prabang for Vientiane, the administrative capital, aboard chartered airplanes. None of the Americans was harmed.

But the situation was more serious for three American aid officials being held hostage by student demonstrators in Savannakhet in southern Laos. The Pathet Lao coalition government announced Thursday that it was sending a joint team to negotiate the release of the three officials. The students had threatened the lives of the hostages unless a series of demands was met.

The demonstrators are forcing the U.S. to produce some of the strongest insults they could think of. Among other things, they hung a rubber shower slipper over the Seal of the United States at the front gate of the U.S. Embassy. The insult was considered particularly strong because, in the Thaï view, the foot is the most distasteful part of the human anatomy.

Although not necessarily directly organized by the pro-communist Pathet Lao, the anti-American demonstrators certainly have had

A crucial shortage of gas builds up nationwide

By John D. Moorhead
Business and financial writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

A fabric mill in Virginia is scrambling to avoid a shutdown this coming winter — which would idle 10,000 — for lack of natural gas.

The same danger faces fertilizer makers, manufacturers of glass products, Arizona farmers who must irrigate their land, and bakers of bread for the residents of Boston. They all depend on natural gas, which is getting scarcer and scarcer.

"After 20 years of price regulation, what we have is a total breakdown of the system," says Rush Moody Jr., a former vice-chairman of the Federal Power Commission. "The gas shortage is very real and is growing worse every day."

Proven domestic reserves of natural gas at the end of 1973 were about 250 trillion cubic feet, which at current levels of consumption would last about 11 years, according to a study by the Argus Research Corporation. Undiscovered reserves might add another 23 years to this figure, a recent National Academy of Sciences report finds.

A new study of the problem at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is one more voice in a chorus urging an end to regulation.

The Federal Power Commission regulates the price of natural gas which moves in interstate commerce. The regulated price is \$1.50 per mcf. The price of natural gas at the same time, gas sold in states like Louisiana and Texas where it is drawn from the earth is bringing 75 cents to \$1.50 per mcf.

This situation spells shortages for the states which depend on interstate pipelines, and gas curtailments in the New England area, for example, are running at 21 percent, says a spokesman for the New England Gas Association. So far industrial users who have been cut back have been able to make up the shortfall with alternate fuels, but they are concerned about the future.

The new study, released May 19 by the American Enterprise Institute, a public-supported research organization, recommends a phased elimination of regulatory controls as the most effective way to cut the shortage.

"Higher prices would . . . add to incentives for exploratory drilling, and the drilling would increase new discoveries" of gas, according to Paul MacAvoy and Robert Pindick, the MIT professors who prepared the study using computer modeling techniques.

Advocates of deregulation also argue that higher prices will dampen demand.

Such deregulation, however, would end the favored position of residential users of natural gas, who benefit from low prices and are effectively shielded from supply curtailments under present policy.

Removal of regulation is opposed by economic and environmentalists who argue that deregulation would lead to a race to the bottom in the industry.

David Schwartz of the FPC's Office of Economics argues that "there is strong evidence that the present unavailability of gas supply is related to the speculative anticipations of significantly higher prices."

The Senate Commerce Committee recently approved a bill partially deregulating natural gas, which the full Senate is expected to consider after the Memorial Day recess. Rep. John D. Dingell (D) of Michigan has said he will hold House subcommittee hearings on the issue soon.

The MacAvoy-Pindick study considers three options other than deregulation — price freeze, area rate regulation, and regulated price increases — and finds that significant shortages would continue under all three.

Ford's post-Vietnam policy

By Geoffrey Gossell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Ford administration has moved another step forward in its two-pronged post-Indochina policy of shoring up faltering alliances and of simultaneously warning potential foes or troublemakers not to underestimate U.S. tolerance of being pushed around.

The latest piece to fall into place in the shoring up of alliances is the Senate vote in Washington reversing the ban on U.S. aid to Turkey imposed by Congress last February in defiance of White House and State Department wishes.

The Senate vote alone could prove enough to sweeten the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Turkish Government leaders at the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) meeting in Ankara.

The latest tough warning from the administration came in an interview with Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger in the current edition of U.S. News & World Report. In it two of the Secretary's main thrusts were on:

Korea: If North Korea were tempted to invade South Korea, Mr. Schlesinger said, the North Koreans "would have to conclude that the U.S. would take more vigorous action than we were inclined to take during much of the Vietnamese war." One of the lessons of that war "is that rather than simply counter your

opponent's thrusts, it is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent's power . . . destroy his military forces."

A renewed Arab oil embargo: "I think," Secretary Schlesinger said, "that we are less likely to be tolerant of a renewed embargo than we were in the initial one in 1973. . . . I'm not going to indicate any prospective reaction other than to point out there are economic, political, or conceivably military measures in response."

John Cooley reports from Beirut: Cairo and Beirut commentators had accounts of the Schlesinger remarks with lines like "new threat from the United States." Some commentators here spoke of the U.S. advocating "piracy like that used in Cambodia" in case an Arab-Israel war brings a new oil embargo.

Diplomats here believe the Schlesinger statement may have especially serious consequences for the U.S. position in Saudi Arabia. Two months ago, before King Faisal's murder, Secretary of State Kissinger publicly assured King Faisal and Oil Minister Zaki Yamani that talk of U.S. military intervention was only "irresponsible" newspaper speculation.

Simultaneously with the publication of the Schlesinger interview, the North Korean radio put out a blistering attack on the U.S., accusing it of "twaddling" that it would observe and maintain" its military command.

What Secretary Kissinger does

not say

Senate action on lifting the ban on Turkey will be taken enough for the Government to tell him in Ankara to postpone if not drop any decision closing of U.S. bases in Turkey; more conciliatory towards Greek Cypriots in the search for a Cyprus.

"Of course the refugees are concerned," says Vietnamese camp leader Dao Trong Ngo. "They want to get to their final destination. The only thing that keeps their impatience

Solar heat? Builders say it's ready now

Big government charged with favoring big business

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Small builders across the U.S., with dozens of operating solar homes to their credit, insist that solar heating is available for the average home owner to enjoy — right now.

These builders, who have designed, built, and installed their own solar heating systems, claim the federal government has largely ignored their efforts, however.

"My son and I," writes Robert L. Heaton, consulting engineer of Berkeley, California, "have built and are operating a retrofit solar heating system on a home in Berkeley. Neither HUD, NSF, NASA, nor ERDA, all duly notified, have been interested enough to see solar energy being used."

Mr. Heaton, one of many responding to an article on solar heating in this newspaper, referred to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the National Science Foundation, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Energy Research and Development Administration — federal agencies involved in Washington's current new look at solar energy.

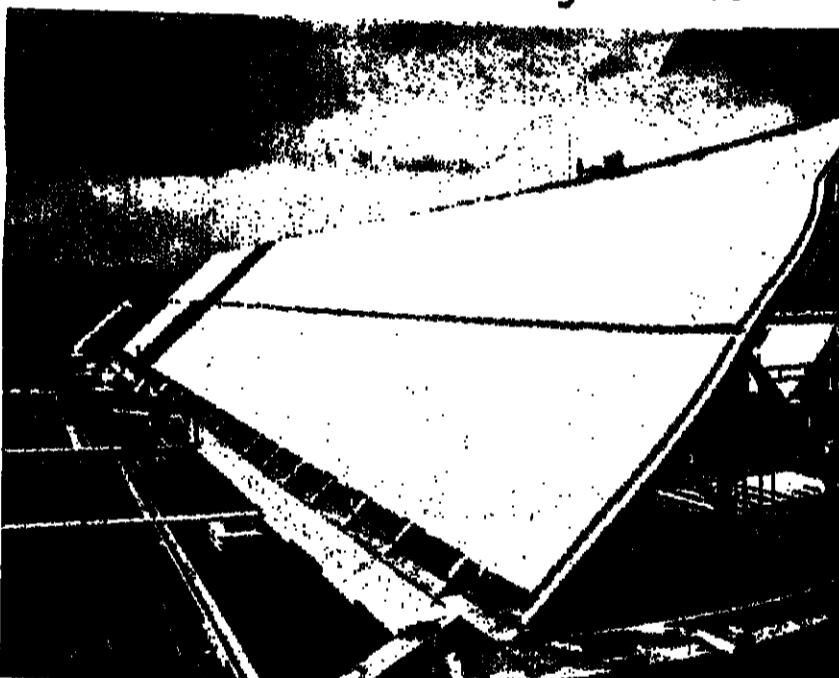
Other builders claim that the government's solar research program, which may total \$100 million in fiscal 1976, already works, and that the federal government should encourage giant corporations into the solar act.

Officials of ERDA and the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) say systems built by small firms are too expensive, and that only companies like General Electric and Westinghouse can mass-produce solar hardware for widespread use.

"If a home owner," replies Bruce N. Anderson, builder of solar homes in New Hampshire, "with a properly designed house and of moderate size spends more than \$5,000 to do 50 percent or so of his heating with solar energy, then the system was designed improperly."

Harry E. Thomason, who builds solar-heated homes in the Washington, D.C. area, says his patented "Solaris" system cost about \$4,500 to install, and provides 65 to 75 percent of heat needed "on cold winter days."

"Big business, meanwhile, is dragging its feet



Solar heating panels being installed in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

on solar energy, according to Sen. S. Gaylord Nelson (D) of Wisconsin and Thomas J. McIntyre (D) of New Hampshire.

The "suspicion was almost unavoidable," said Senator Nelson, referring to General Electric and Westinghouse, that these "giant firms" because of their large investment in nuclear technology, hoped that solar energy would not gain rapidly.

He cited studies by GE and Westinghouse, financed by \$500,000 grants to each by the National Science Foundation, predicting that "within the next 25 years solar energy would be providing only 2 to 4 percent of total (U.S.) heating and cooling needs when nuclear energy — a far more complex technology — had jumped from zero to 6 percent as a source of electrical power in less than 20 years."

Nuclear technology, notes Raymond D. Watts, general counsel of the Senate Small Business Committee, is "big business technology," whereas small business is uniquely equipped to develop solar heating and cooling hardware.

"The power establishment," says Mr. Watts, "is dragging its feet, because if we went too far, too fast [on the development of

solar energy], the disruption of technology would be too devastating."

For whom? For electric power manufacturers of nuclear power, makers of electrical equipment, and others, says Mr. Watts. Beyond that, major commitment to solar technology "change the shape of economic, social, and esthetic" concepts in the U.S.

"Such a threat to existing [and] older energy technology may, in fact," Senator Nelson, "be present in the development of solar energy technology . . . the task of policy makers . . . should be to make the transition as painless, not to arrest or inhibit it, as possible."

Small builders in all parts of the country, meanwhile, are putting up solar buildings for less cost than the \$10,000 per unit by one Washington official.

Mr. Thomason's costs are about \$1,000 per medium-sized home. Mr. Anderson's \$5,000 should be top. The solar system in a three-story, 2,300-square-foot house built by Interactive Resources, Inc., of Richmond, California, costs \$4,000 per unit.

Red tape snarls refugees

By David Winder
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Camp Pendleton, California
Vietnamese refugees are becoming impatient with the bureaucratic red tape that confines them to the hills of Camp Pendleton. Said one key civilian official here testily: "No one is coming in and no one is moving out."

As for Secretary Kissinger's visit to Ankara this week, it has been reported that the Greek and Turkish leaders discussed their disagreements on Cyprus.

They resolved nothing but did their prime Ministers should meet during the NATO gathering at the end of the month. On June 1, due to be resumed in Vienna between Cypriot and Turkish Cypriots.

Diplomats here believe the Schlesinger statement may have especially serious consequences for the U.S. position in Saudi Arabia. Two months ago, before King Faisal's murder, Secretary of State Kissinger publicly assured King Faisal and Oil Minister Zaki Yamani that talk of U.S. military intervention was only "irresponsible" newspaper speculation.

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"Of course the refugees are concerned," says Vietnamese camp leader Dao Trong Ngo. "They want to get to their final destination. The only thing that keeps their impatience

down is the knowledge they will eventually be sponsored and resettled."

As a warming sun finally penetrated the dense bank of damp coastal fog that chills the Vietnamese, Pham Doan Duong unbuttoned his jacket and said earnestly:

"It is very important we get out and get a job. The people want to work."

This former director of a technical school in Saigon added sadly, "If they stay here they feel like they are in prison. It is better to stay in Saigon."

Like so many of the middle-class refugees here, this scholarly looking man, a phalanx of



Refugees at Pendleton — how long will they smile?

By Richard L. Allman

pens sticking out of his top left-hand pocket, asked for information on life outside the camp gates:

What do the Americans really think about us? Is unemployment as high as people say?

"We have no experience, no contact," he said as he walked slowly along a road busy with people and military trucks. "How can we have contact? It is impossible. We only see the tops of the hills."

Nothing will change, officials here say, until they get the necessary clearance and the required sponsorship.

Disagreement slows down Alaskan oil flow

By C. Robert Zelnick
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

A second Alaskan pipeline — this time for natural gas — is moving so slowly through complex arguments that it may not be built before 1979 at the earliest.

Two years after Congress allowed construction of the oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez by exempting it from federal environmental regulations, Washington is being asked to decide the best route for a pipeline able to carry some 28 trillion cubic feet of gas.

Two companies currently applying to the Federal Power Commission (FPC) proposed widely different routes and transportation systems.

The El Paso Natural Gas Company wants to transport the gas along the same 800-mile pipeline corridor to be used for the Prudhoe Bay oil. At Valdez the U.S. gas would be liquefied and transported in tankers to the West Coast. Once there it would be turned back into gas for local markets.

Opposing the El Paso application is the Alaskan Arctic Gas Pipeline Company (AAG), which proposes instead an overland pipeline east across northern Alaska, then down Canada's Mackenzie River Valley and into the U.S. Midwest.

Approximately 100 interested parties have intervened in the FPC hearings, including the state of Alaska, which, for revenue reasons, favors the El Paso application.

Supporters of the AAG proposal respond that:

- A common oil/gas pipeline corridor will minimize environmental damage, particularly since the AAG route may cut across the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in northern Alaska.

- Knowledge gained during construction of the oil pipeline will mean fewer pitfalls during construction of the gas pipeline.

- A route limited to U.S. territory means fewer international complications since Canada has yet to resolve environmental questions, the aboriginal rights of its Indian and Eskimo populations, and powerful interests among several provinces.

- Eliminating the liquefaction and back-to-gas steps on an overland route could save consumers \$600 million to \$800 million per year.

- A Mackenzie River route would deliver more gas to consumers, being able to deliver Canadian as well as Alaskan natural gas.

- The project could provide an opportunity for several joint energy undertakings with Canada under conditions sanctified by treaty.

- Any environmental costs involved in the overland route would be more than offset by the elimination of tanker traffic.

Environmental groups are split on their choice of routes. Few regard either route as clearly better than the other.

In its original impact statement on the oil pipeline, the Interior Department suggested that the Mackenzie River gas route had enormous economic advantages over the route now proposed by El Paso. If the FPC continues to regulate gas prices, most observers believe the overland route would save consumers billions of dollars in the long run.

But with soaring energy prices and possible deregulation of natural gas prices, many observers see the difference between the El Paso and AAG routes in terms of corporate profit statements rather than savings to consumers.

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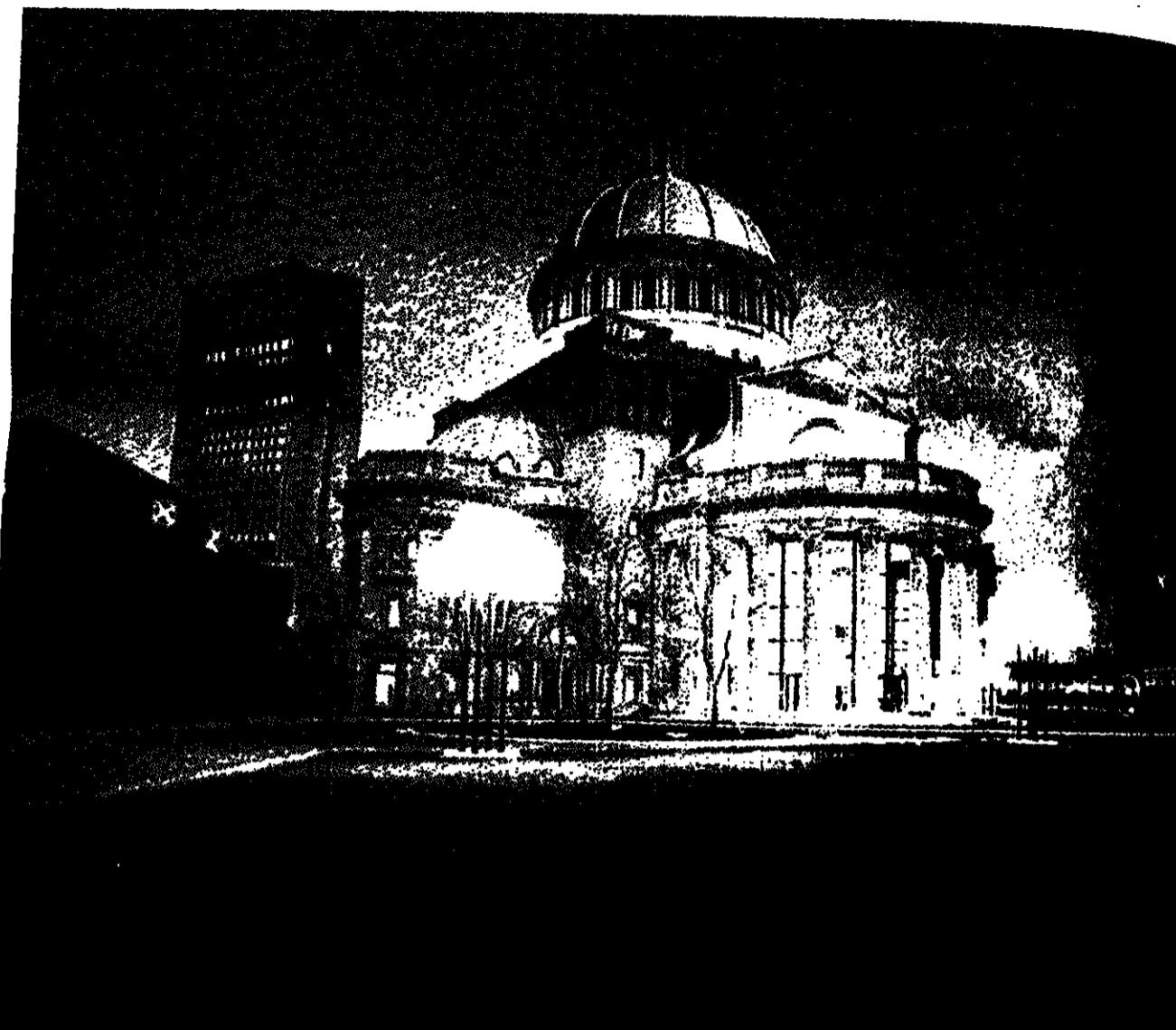
New front entrance for Mother Church

The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts, has acquired a main entrance.

The new portico opened May 18, marking the final step in new construction at the Church Center. Redevelopment of the area adjacent to The Mother Church began in 1968 and includes two new administrative buildings, a Sunday School building, a reflecting pool, and large underground garage.

Ten 42-foot limestone Corinthian columns dominate the classic half-round. The entrances are set in a curving glass wall reinforced by bronze bands. Two elevators are available to take churchgoers from the lobby to the auditorium and its balconies.

No ceremonies marked the opening. Instead, in a brief statement, The Christian Science Board of Directors called for "works instead of words" and "renewed dedication on the part of Christian Scientists in a time when spiritual values are being tested more sharply than ever before by the materialism of modern life."



New portico for The Mother Church opened

By Gordon H. Converse, Christian Science Monitor

Can planning be dangerous?

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington — A corporation plans for its sales expansion, a parent plans for his child's education — but the U.S. Government doesn't plan for its oil needs nor anticipate where next year's gasoline will come from.

That is the argument of a group of senators and economists who want to set up an office of national economic planning. The "single most important piece of legislation in my 24 years of public service," says Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D) of Minnesota.

Immediately, it runs head-on into those who associate government planning with socialist control.

If planning advocated "came right out and said they wanted to create an economic police state their cause would never get off the ground," charged Walter Wriston, First National City Bank president to a meeting of the Society of American Business Writers here.

But New York banker Robert V. Roosa says, "The choice is not between plan and no plan, but between coherent planning and chaotic planning."

"Are you satisfied with the way the economy now is operating?" asks Sen. Jacob Javits.

"I am not satisfied with the way the economy now is operating," says Sen. George S. McGovern.

A private group, the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Mineral Resources and Environment (Comrare Committee) issued a report, February, 1975.

Some critics say what America needs is more action by Congress, not commissions.

Senators Humphrey and Javits argue, however, that something must be done to coordinate data being collected by 80 different unconnected agencies. The director of the new planning body would be "chief adviser to the president for economic affairs." By contrast, the present Council of Economic Advisors would continue to concentrate on "short-run problems."

How would recommendations be enforced? "Voluntary," say Messrs. Humphrey, Javits, and Leontief; there would be "coercion," assert critics.

Herbert Stein, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under Presidents Nixon and Ford, pooh-poohs the idea. Federal planning, he thinks, is a subtle prescription for transferring power "from people acting in the market to people acting in the government."

Dr. Stein's opposition is not unexpected,

U.S. morale lifted, but there are...

Questions in wake of Mayaguez

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington — The planning proposal, by inference, is a criticism of the President's Council of Economic Advisors for not doing more long-range planning.

Significantly heading the list of academics, union and business leaders supporting the program, is Leon H. Keyserling, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Truman.

By a coincidence, an independent five-man planning group set up by President Truman under Chairman William S. Paley, in January, 1951, issued a five-volume report, "Resources for Freedom," forecasting a dangerous energy and fuel shortage in another 25 years.

It has given an inestimable American morale, in the wake of the Mayaguez.

Congress allegedly showed impotence on the war when it adopted the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in August, 1964. In two days' debate, with only two senators, Morse and Gruening, opposing, in 1970 the disillusioned Senate repealed the resolution which, in the meantime, Undersecretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach said gave the President authority to use U.S. troops "anywhere" in Southeast Asia.

In October, 1970, Congress established the National Commission on Materials Policy to look into world scarcities. It was the beginning of a feeling among many that the earth's resources are finite, with famine planning.

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within 48 hours of any emergency action.

First reactions in Congress, analysts include:

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It has given a political boost to Ford, who ordered it, which delighted Republicans. They liken it to the mind: "Perdicaris alive or Perdicaris associated with 'Teddy Roosevelt' to John Perdicaris a supposed US-kidnapped by Moroccan bandits in 1904; it helped Roosevelt beat Alf.

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Asia

China fuels Indian unrest

By Marcus F. Franda
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

voting when Bangladesh was admitted to the UN in 1973.)

A Chinese diplomat told the official Bangladesh news agency in Bonn May 4 that "What we thought about Bangladesh two years ago is no longer true. . . . We now believe that Bangladesh cannot be dominated by any foreign power."

Mention of "any foreign power" obviously was a reference to India and the Soviet Union, both of which have come under increasing attack on Bangladesh during the past two years despite the fact that they were almost the only supporters of the Bangladesh liberation war in 1971.

Early this year Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, then Prime Minister of Bangladesh, declared himself "President" and abolished parliamentary democracy and freedom of the press. But he since has allowed Bangladesh newspapers to print student attacks on India.

When New Delhi abolished the position of the Chogyal (king) in Sikkim and changed Sikkim's status from that of an Indian protectorate to a "fully integrated state of India," in April, Dacca newspapers were allowed to echo Peking's charge that Sikkim had been "illegitimately annexed by India because of India's expansionist and imperialist designs."

Although the Bangladesh Government for the past year or so has been silent about establishing diplomatic relations with China, Sheikh Mujib has said that he wants friendly relations with all countries, presumably including China.

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New Delhi-Dacca relations soured by disputes

By Joe Gelman
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Dacca, Bangladesh
Despite official smiles and handshakes here and in New Delhi, all is not well between India and Bangladesh.

Three years after independence, Bangladesh's "liberator," India, is feared and distrusted by many here. Many Bangladeshis say that India, the second largest donor of aid to their country, after the United States, is "exploiting" them.

The two governments are trying to iron out several difficult, emotion-charged issues, among them:

• Disputed maritime boundaries. Bangladesh has awarded oil-exploration contracts to six companies, including Atlantic Richfield, most of which want to begin drilling after the monsoon season. In all, Dacca has leased 35,000 square miles of the Bay of Bengal. But India also claims 4,000 of them and, since experts think there is a 10-mile oil-bearing belt, the dispute is more than academic.

This issue is perhaps the touchiest, since Bangladeshis think an oil discovery will solve their economic problems. International law is hazy on the subject, and should oil be found before the conflict is resolved, a solution will be the more difficult to reach.

• Jute smuggling. During the 1971 "liberation struggle" the then-rebel Awami League encouraged smuggling into India as a means of undermining the economy of West Pakistan. Now the smuggling, mostly into Calcutta, is at twice the pre-1971 level, and some Bengalis blame India.

Both Dacca and New Delhi are making efforts to control the problem, which is compounded by the 50-percent disparity in the unofficial exchange rate between the Indian rupee and the Bangladeshi taka and by the informal exchange rate between the two legal border.

• Refugees. Recent reports indicate that some 300 "unauthorized persons" a day are entering the northeast Indian State of Assam from Bangladesh. At the height of the severe floods in 1974, 100,000 refugees were said to have entered Assam.

The largely Hindu "infiltrators," as the Indian press calls them, seek food, shelter, and

work in a state already experiencing a food shortage. Some maintain this huge influx could become a political issue and eventually threaten the stability of the strategically located region.

Behind these issues lies a variety of Bengali fears, including the belief that New Delhi wants to prevent Dacca "from coming out into the world."

"They [India] are worried that the President [Sheikh Mujibur Rahman] is trying to maneuver out of India's grip and is opening a window toward China," says Enayeturah Khan, editor of Dacca's respected leftist intellectual weekly, *Holiday*.

On the surface both governments are making efforts to solidify ties. Sheikh Mujib sent a letter to India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stressing the need for Indo-Bangladesh friendship; Mrs. Gandhi personally intervened to give a needed boost to talks in New Delhi over maritime boundaries.

However, Sheikh Mujib's behind-the-scenes attitude toward India remains a tantalizing question: Associates insist he is "not pro-Indian" and is "playing a dangerous game."

Even so, knowledgeable analysts caution against "snap judgments" about Indo-Bangladesh relations. They argue:

• Feelings toward India are largely a reflection of an international economic malaise that has hit Bangladesh particularly hard. And 90 percent of Bangladesh's border is with India, which serves as a natural vent for frustration.

• Bangladesh sees everything through the lens of West Bengal: It fears exploitation by "Hindu West Bengal" akin to that incurred by the East Bengali Muslims during pre-partition days. Distrust of Hindu businessmen still looms large.

• As in India, foreign journalists come in contact mostly with the bitterly disillusioned "displaced," "displaced," "displaced" class, which lives on a fixed income and has been caught in the economic crunch. But the less virulently anti-Indian.

Meanwhile, top Bangladesh Government officials privately attribute bad feelings toward India to a group of pro-Indian figures who may have pushed too hard too soon for close ties with New Delhi.

Indonesia: a woman's cry
By Stewart Dill McBride
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston Carmel Budiarjo, held as a political prisoner for four years in Indonesia, now is campaigning for the release of her husband and 100,000 persons she claims are being detained there without trial.

The British-born economist visited Boston last week in the final days of her five-week lecture tour of the United States to drum up support for the prisoners' plight.

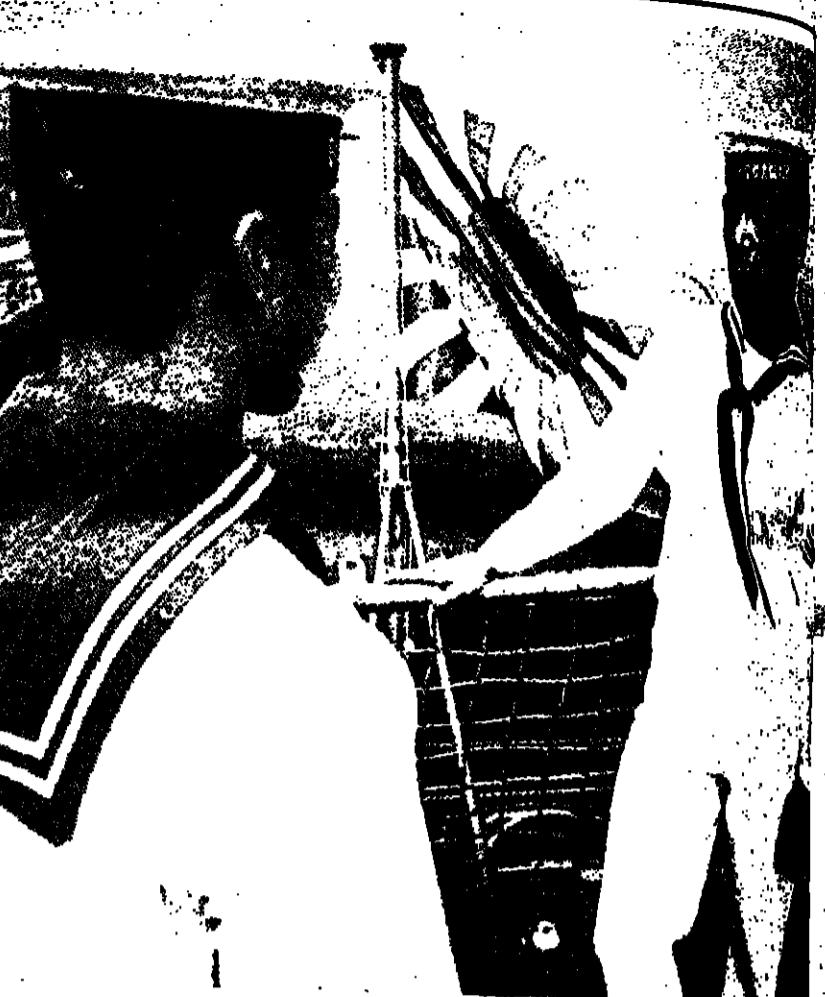
A graduate of the London School of Economics, she says her meetings with students, women's groups and peace organizations here have made her "more optimistic."

In the wake of the Vietnam tragedy, antiwar activists are anxious to keep the public's attention focused on the Indonesian movement throughout Southeast Asia, which includes the "long overlooked" Indonesia, says Mrs. Budiarjo.

"Even politically active people in the United States are unaware that Indonesia even exists. Some of them think you mean Indo-China," adds Mrs. Budiarjo.

Politicians were "concerned about a possible bloodbath in Vietnam," but who was concerned when it happened 10 years ago in Indonesia?" she asks. Mrs. Budiarjo estimates that 1 million persons were executed during the Army's "counter-coup" in 1965 and 1966.

"To put it very callously, people [in the West] probably felt it was okay because they were 'killing Communists,'" says Mrs. Budiarjo who emphasizes TAPOL is committed to "freeing not only those whom the government considers 'left-wing' prisoners, but all political prisoners."



By a ship
Sailors of Maritime Self-Defense Force: no match for determined

Japan feels the draught

Greatest danger to the nation's security seen in the Korean peninsula

By Eduardo Lachica
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

For the first time since the end of World War II the Japanese are feeling some twinges of worry about their own security.

What has brought these on is not so much the shock ending of the Indo-China conflict as its unhinging effect on the network of American peace-keeping commitments in the rest of Asia.

Officially, the government's policy is to sit tight and watch the drift of events. Asked what Japan should do from here on, Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa replied with deliberate ambiguity: "We should grasp what is the major current in international affairs and form our foreign policy accordingly."

That enigmatic statement leaves Japan with any number of options. But it is already evident that the strongest persuasion is to hold onto what Japan already has — a mutual defense treaty with the United States reaffirmed to be still in good working order only last month by President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

The alternative of a "neutral Japan," which only a political minority takes seriously, has lost ground to the new security-conscious mood.

A third course of action, which is for Japan to arm itself with nuclear weapons, has been rejected by all but the extreme Right.

Osamu Kubota, former editor of the *Asahi Shimbun*, Japan's largest newspaper, says the Japanese Communist Party and the CP's ally, the CP, are the only ones who want to offend the Soviet Union.

The reluctance of the Japanese to incorporate a controversial mutual defense clause in the draft of the Japan-China friendship treaty shows that attitude still stands.

Japan does not want to offend the Soviet Union, which is the largest power in the region. The Self-Defense Forces are still short of 30,000 recruits, and they don't have the funds to upgrade their equipment," he said.

U.S. Embassy officials declined to make any

hard predictions of where Japan will go. "A lot depends on internal and external conditions," an embassy officer said. "Right now they are watching the U.S. Congress for any further signs of giving up on Asia."

The best guess of Foreign Ministry officials

is that since the security treaty is really all Japan has, it will have to show a greater willingness to make it work.

Though the government still assumes, as

before, an immediate U.S. reaction to the

unlikely event of a direct attack on Japan, it is

less sure that American public opinion would

Asia

China draws closer to Europe

By John Burns
Special to The Christian Science Monitor
© 1975 Toronto Globe and Mail

Peking In a move that underscores China's support for a united Europe, Peking has decided to establish official relations with the Common Market and appoint an ambassador to the European Commission in Brussels.

Announcing this during his visit to Peking recently, Sir Christopher Soames, the market's commissioner for external relations, said: "I believe there is a Chinese proverb that says that the longest journey begins with a single step. We have now taken the first step toward a closer and more fruitful relationship, which I hope and believe will be of considerable significance both for the People's Republic of China and for the European community."

Relations with the community are not likely to be of major importance to China themselves, at least until the community advances further toward political integration. But Peking obviously regards the step as an important symbol of its support for European integration, which it sees as a counterweight to American and more particularly Soviet influence in Europe.

In recent years the Chinese have taken every opportunity to encourage the European movement, to the point that Belgian Premier Leo Tindemans, visiting here last month, reported Chinese leaders as having asked him why it is taking so long for Europe to unite in defense of its own interests.

From the community's viewpoint, the trade pact with Peking will be of marginal importance in itself, providing little more than a framework within which European businessmen can compete for contracts with Peking's trading corporations.

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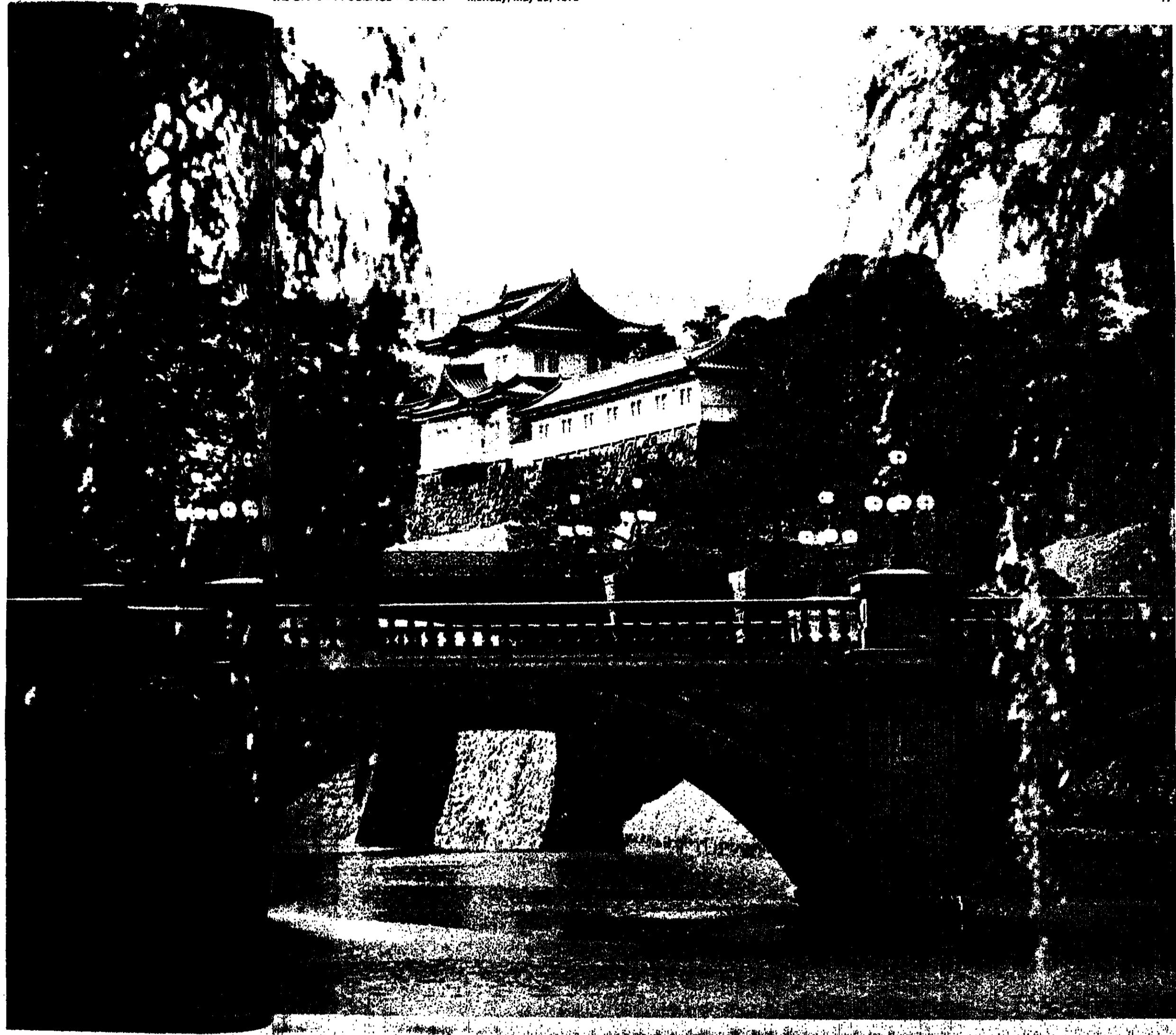
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WOKING

HAIR STYLIST



Double bridges lead to main gate of Tokyo's Imperial Palace grounds

TOKYO TODAY

Tokyo skies are being seen all over Tokyo ring. In the largest and most populated in the world, pollution is down, air is cleaner, and more breathing space is being available by the reclaiming of 1,000 from Tokyo Bay.

Skies are clearest on Sundays — not to factories closed, but in the heart of the famous Ginza shopping street is no cars.

Ginza is normally jammed with traffic and shoppers. But on Sundays it is

transformed: benches, potted shrubs, flowers, and trees appear to form a one-day-a-week park.

Workers (for most of them Sunday is their only full day off) come out to amble, shop in the stores, relax, eat, see and be seen. By mid-morning the street is filled. Western-style clothing and hair-dos are as commonplace as McDonald's hamburgers and Kentucky Fried Chicken.

The young often spend the entire day walking back and forth, then taking in a movie or two at dusk. Many films are American-

made. The larger the posters, the greater the crowds.

Family groups and old-timers eventually move a few blocks from the Ginza to parks around the Imperial Palace, a quiet sanctuary

in the midst of the hustle and bustle of a city that is both capital and commercial center.

The Palace is surrounded by inclined walls made of different-sized blocks of masonry with corner towers dotting the fortress. The Emperor and his family live in a series of low buildings which are largely invisible from the outside world. A linked series of tranquil, willow-ringed moats crossed by occasional bridges surrounds the inner enclosure.

For many Japanese the day is not complete without posing for a photograph in front of the moats, pines, and bridges of the Imperial Palace.

Photos and text
By Gordon N. Converse
Chief photographer of
The Christian Science Monitor

financial

What Nigeria plans to do with its oil billions

By Karl Lawrence
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Lagos, Nigeria
Nigeria, the world's seventh largest exporter of crude petroleum, has launched a five-year development plan that envisages a total investment of \$48 billion.

It is a case of a nation of nearly 80 million at a very low stage of development finding itself suddenly rich with enormous amounts of money to spend.

The year 1974 saw an unprecedented trade surplus of almost \$6.5 billion, despite a large increase in imports. The \$3.6 million tons of crude oil exported during that year earned a record \$8.5 billion.

The newly launched third five-year development plan, for which the government is earmarking \$32 billion for investment with another \$16 billion coming from private

sources, seems to approach Nigeria's pressing problems in a practical manner. Much of the money will go to help rural development, especially to rehabilitate the ailing agriculture. A road program costs \$5.44 billion, and \$3.2 billion is set aside for education.

A total of \$9.6 billion will be invested in industry by federal and state authorities alone, most of it for projects based on local raw materials and in cooperation with leading Western companies. A sugar project, in cooperation with the Commonwealth Development Corporation, is designed to produce 100,000 tons of the commodity annually. A cement plant costing \$262.8 million is built as a joint venture with Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers. It is based on locally available limestone. The Soviets are building a huge iron and steel complex using local iron ore and coal. There are many plans to expand

oil refining capacities and set up petrochemical plants.

The situation in Nigeria's capital and main port, Lagos, hints at the country's needs.

The city had a population of between 200,000 and 300,000 20 years ago. It is now estimated at 3 million, with little having been done in the intervening two decades to improve the roads, housing, and sanitation facilities. In central Lagos about 500 people live per acre, compared to 180 in Manhattan.

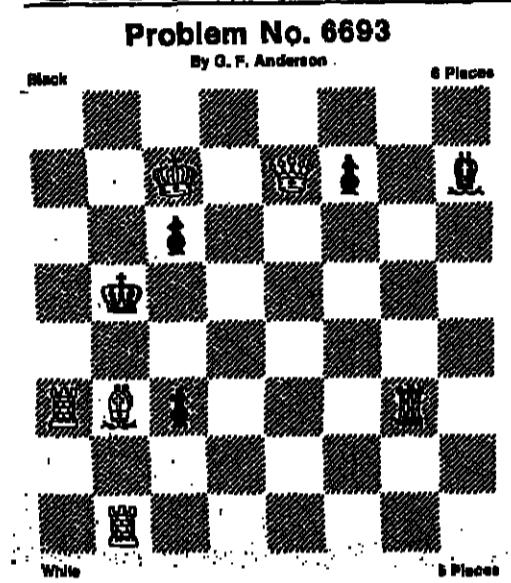
Traffic congestion must be seen as a believed. It is by no means unusual to be three hours and more from one's downtown to the airport, a distance of miles.

Of course, the situation in Lagos is not for Nigeria. A project, assisted by international expertise provided by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), working out a "master plan" to redesign city development plans and improve the land.

chess

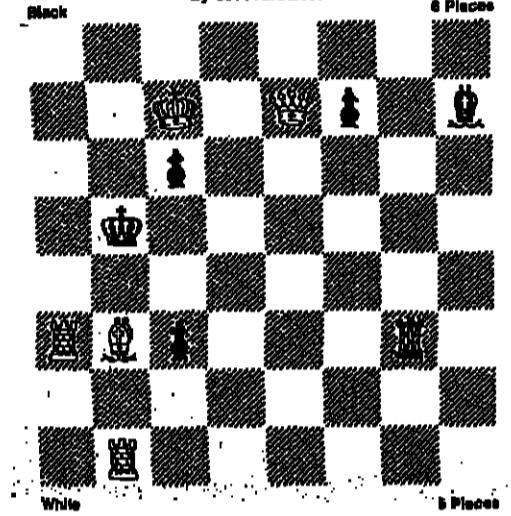
By Frederick R. Chevalier

Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor



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By O. F. Anderson



Problem No. 6694

By O. F. Anderson

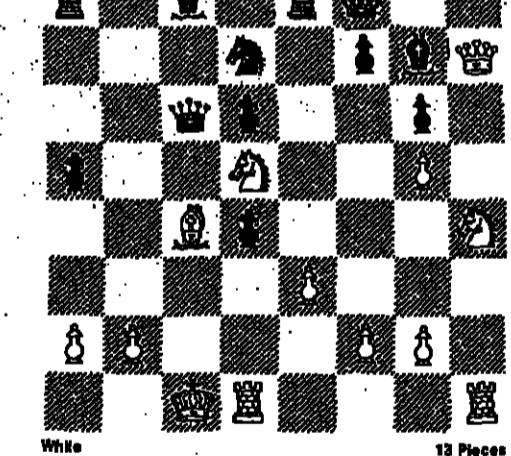
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End-Game No. 2201

By O. F. Anderson

White to play and win
(First prize, Kavalek and Pfeifer shared first.)



Nimzo-Indian Defense

By O. F. Anderson

White to play and win
(First prize, Kavalek and Pfeifer shared first.)

Solutions to Problems

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When scientists should protest

How much responsibility must a scientist assume for the results of his work? From time to time the question has raised its worried head and then settled down once more into an uneasy slumber. Now it looks as if the scientific conscience is truly waking up the United States. If so its repercussions will reach far beyond the shores of America and certainly travel outside the walls of the laboratory.

The Monitor's features editor discusses the report of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on the subject.

By Robert C. Cowen

America's most broadly representative scientific organization, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, is trying to blow away the last vestiges of the old delusion that scientists can stand apart from society. A recent report by the AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility forthrightly states:

• Engineers and scientists who see their own work, or their field of knowledge, being used for morally dubious ends or in publicly dangerous ways, must speak up, even if this means blowing the whistle on their employers.

• Professional ("learned") societies should defend their members who may be persecuted for such protests, a suggestion calculated to send shudders through many of these politically timid groups.

The report is remarkable, not so much as a call to new action, but as an indicator of how high the social consciousness of American scientists has risen in 20 years. There is the naive idealism of the 1950s, which encouraged Nobel prize winners to lament that the world would be a better place if politicians would only have the "integrity" of scientists. And then are the ranks of those who still maintain the scientific work is ethically neutral.

Asking professional societies to defend members who suffer for acting on this responsibility is another matter. Few such societies have the funds, or the inclination, to stand up to an employer or a pressure group that is bullying one or two of their members.

The AAAS is not talking about cases of broad social protest, such as objecting to the recent Vietnam war. It is concerned with "matters directly related to the professional competence of members of the [professional] society." The AAAS report cites the case of three engineers who perceived that the automatic controls planned for San Francisco's Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system would be unsafe, as they later proved to be. Rebuffed by their superiors and turned aside by the BART board, the engineers were fired from their jobs as troubleshooters.

The California Society of Professional Engineers (CSPE) investigated and found the engineers had "acted in the best interest of the public welfare," a finding that was not heeded. The engineers then sought redress from their former employer, but declined to join their damage suit against BART, which was settled out of court.

The AAAS would have all professional societies act as did CSPE and to go further in backing court action when necessary.

This is a responsibility, demanding courage and perception, that professional societies have too long ignored. They can do so no longer. The AAAS committee is right when it observes in this connection that the public hostility to science so evident today "will almost certainly grow unless scientists exhibit greater concern for preventing misuse of science and technology."

When landscape gets short shrift

French Riviera going high-rise

By Jeffrey Robinson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Monte Carlo, Monaco
Paradise is pockmarked, and the French Riviera is quickly becoming one very long high-rise apartment house. From Menton on the Italian border, past Monaco, past Nice, past Antibes, and even a few kilometers past Cannes, the coast is dotted with 25-, 30-, 35-story apartment houses and ultra-modern marinas and very little of what made this coast the playground of 50 years ago.

"Nothing has happened to Villefranche in the 20-odd years between my first visit and my return to alter my impression that the place had been misnamed. It should have been called Paradise-sur-Mer," notes writer Waverly Root of his first trip to the coast in 1928. He says that even 20-25 years ago everything was still rather peaceful.

But when he returned to Villefranche just last year, he couldn't help feel that the coast was a disaster area. "Paradise has been lost and Paradise is never likely to be regained," he says.

What you find are projects like Marina Baie des Anges at Villeneuve Loubet, consisting of two immense pyramid shaped buildings lining a convex beach where fishermen once dried their nets.

At Mandelieu and La Napoule, not far from Cannes, an entire community is being called Cannes Marina, and it's so starkly modern that it totally overshadows a small historic fort some 100 yards away.

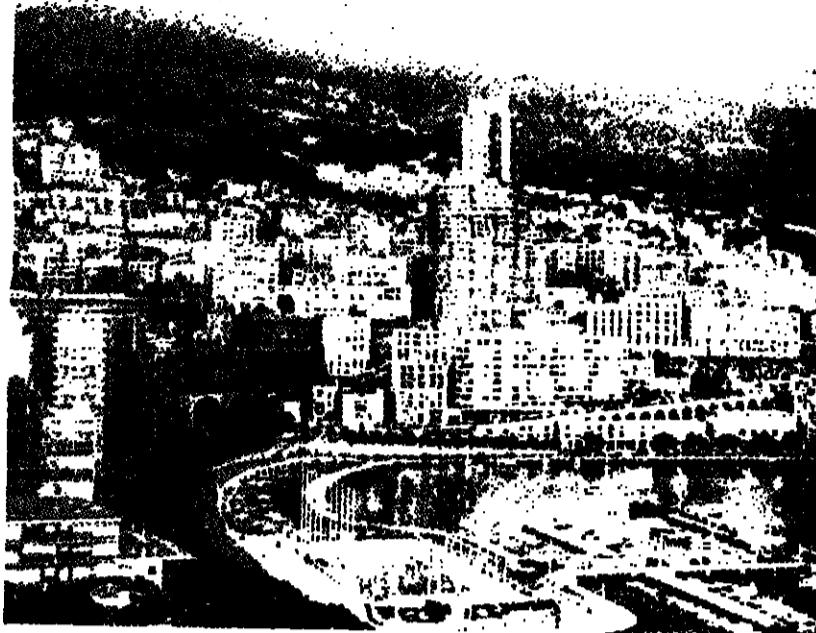
"We stopped the project, which was to have 380 housing units, at a mere 145. We also had the right to ask for the demolition of the entire project, but because the government was at fault for granting the permit, we compromised with the builder. We allowed him to keep his investment — about \$20 million worth — and have insisted that, in exchange, he build a water purification plant on the unused land."

Here in the Principality, the Losesa Corporation is building what will eventually be the largest hotel on the coast. This complex has been severely criticized for helping to ruin what once had been a quaintly splendid protected harbor.

"But all is not lost," claims Pierre Feljoo. "The battle is just beginning." Mr. Feljoo is running a citizen's action group called the Regional Union for Safeguarding Life, Nature, and the Environment. "The days of exploiting this coast without any local interference are over. We may never be able to return it to what it once was. I'm afraid it's too late for that. But we can stop what's happening here now."

The building trade began taking Mr. Feljoo and his organization very seriously about a year ago. There was a half-completed apartment project going up along the sea not far from Hyères. A marina was to go beside it, and it would probably be there today had the government not suddenly withdrawn the builders' permit.

"It can be done," Mr. Feljoo says. "We took



By Jeffrey Robinson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

'No one is going to fly . . . to the . . . Riviera to glare at apartment houses.'

the builders to court and won. Under French law all coastal land is public property to the point reached by the highest tide. This applies even to reclaimed land, and all things built on that land must be for the leisure needs of the citizenry.

"We stopped the project, which was to have 380 housing units, at a mere 145. We also had the right to ask for the demolition of the entire project, but because the government was at fault for granting the permit, we compromised with the builder. We allowed him to keep his investment — about \$20 million worth — and have insisted that, in exchange, he build a water purification plant on the unused land."

From there the citizens' group took off. At Ezio Village, 1,500 feet by sheer drop above the Mediterranean, a builder had wanted to construct a cable car on the side of the mountain to connect the medieval village with its planned marina below. The previously granted construction permit was rescinded.

The one place along the coast where buildings could be easily controlled might be Monaco, where Prince Rainier III, with the help of a little benevolent despotism, can put his foot down. Yet Monaco has been highly criticized for late for the rash of new buildings which have changed the tiny country's face.

"I don't necessarily like it either," the Prince says. "But what can you really do? You can't make regulations that cover everything."

Some British wild flowers so rare, location is secret

By Sam Napier

London
The British Parliament, in the midst of concern about national and international affairs, took time off to save the country's rarest plant — a lady's slipper orchid — from almost certain extinction. They placed it on their protected species list.

Today, the whereabouts of the last wild orchid in Britain is a closely guarded secret. It will bloom this summer, somewhere in Yorkshire. And, says Mr. Russell Gomm, a conservationist, "I wouldn't disclose its location for anything. Its attractive purple flower has been its undoing."

This is a responsibility, demanding courage and perception, that professional societies have too long ignored. They can do so no longer. The AAAS committee is right when it observes in this connection that the public hostility to science so evident today "will almost certainly grow unless scientists exhibit greater concern for preventing misuse of science and technology."

For more than a couple of decades an army of some 2,000 amateur and professional botanists and conservationists have been keeping a watch on this country's wild plants and protecting the rarest from careless hands. And

primroses could both disappear from the countryside. If that happens, the day according to Mr. Collins, will be the flower picker's day.

Ten years ago the Nature Council told of a plant which had only 12 known specimens. They thought it was safe — it was in a reserve. But one day not long thereafter half of the specimens were gone.

About that time, too, Britain had only six known specimens of another wild flower, the monkey orchid. Discovered in 1931, this plant cannot be moved because its life depends on tiny fungi which cannot be transferred. The conservationists presently are also guarding its location. They issue little news about it in order to avoid attracting attention, but it is known that monkey orchids bloom somewhere in the heart of the Chilterns.

At least half a dozen varieties of wild flowers have been wiped out in the last two decades. And, says Mr. J. Collins, a planning officer in Cheshire, before long "the orchid and the

primrose could both disappear from the countryside." If that happens, the day according to Mr. Collins, will be the flower picker's day.

For some years there has been a ban on the operation throughout England and Wales which prohibits the plucking of the wild flowers which grow alongside roadways, in parks and woods. Still, say the conservationists, people think that because no one ever picks the wild flowers are there for the picking.

This is why Parliament has the protected species list. And this is why the conservationists insist on keeping the exact location of the wild flowers secret.

Weekend pickers, they feel, often know the value of the plants they are uprooting. Attracted by the flowers, they are unaware that the plants may be valuable, may grow only under strict conditions, probably in only one or two areas of the country.

'The Passenger' soars into visual poetry

By David Sterritt

"The Passenger" is a most tantalizing movie.

It brings into creative friction one of the greatest Italian directors, Michelangelo Antonioni, and two of the world's biggest stars — Jack Nicholson and Maria Schneider.

It focuses on some of the weightiest themes around — identity, the elusiveness of happiness, the meaning of life — but contains them within a suspense-movie format that keeps you guessing up to (and beyond) the last minute.

And it does these things in one exotic setting after another — Algeria, Spain, Germany, England, from desert waste to modern television studio.

The result is an almost-masterpiece that seems bound to generate controversy. "The Passenger" never caters to its audience. It demands attention, imagination, and even collaboration in determining the significance of the slippery story's many twists. Yet there are many riches here, including new evidence of Antonioni's genius for visualizing not only the world of things, but the world of ideas as well.

"The Passenger" plot is elusive, ephemeral — on purpose, I think. Sometimes it seems arbitrary and contrived; sometimes it soars into a sort of visual poetry that leaves story behind altogether. The important elements, however, are mood and meaning. "The Passenger" is bursting with mood. As for meaning, each spectator must make that decision for himself. Antonioni himself started shooting with an incomplete script, uncertain where the adventure would lead him. The finished film is ambiguous, but grandly so.

I doubt that "The Passenger" will duplicate the phenomenal success of Antonioni's "Blow-Up," which also probed timeless topics in a pop-movie framework. Yet I also doubt it will sink into disrepute like the underrated "Zabriskie Point," although "The Passenger" sometimes suffers from the same murky intellectualism. Rather, the new film will stand on its own individualistic merits — like

such Antonioni classics as "L'Aventura" and "Eclipse" — offering real recompense to viewers who don't mind overlooking a little what one critic called Antoni-entanglement.

Though "The Passenger" has political overtones, for the most part they remain implicit and untaught. But another of the great Italian filmmakers, Roberto Rossellini, has recently turned his attention directly toward history and politics. The movie — called "Anno Uno" — is a far cry from the urgent drama of Rossellini's seminal "Open City,"



Maria Schneider, Jack Nicholson in Antonioni's 'The Passenger'

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"Italy — Year One," to give the American title, concerns the political reorganization in Italy immediately after World War II. It centers on Alcide De Gasperi, who played a key role during this period. The visual style is much quieter even than that of Rossellini's recent Italian TV films. It is based almost entirely on static tableaux, while the soundtrack echoes with words, words, words.

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The Bermuda Triangle

The Bermuda Triangle Mystery — Solved by Lawrence David Kusche. New York: Harper & Row, \$10.

Debunking is such a delight, especially if it's done with the quiet precision employed in this book.

Mr. Kusche sweeps away a lot of the fuzzy thinking surrounding the Bermuda Triangle legend with the flick of a document.

He simply goes back to the records of each disappearance of a ship or airplane tied to the supposedly perilous environs of Bermuda. Despite the title, he is not able to explain all the incidents, but he does peg the vast majority of tragic occurrences to storms or other comprehensible causes.

The best portion of this book is that which harks back to Professor Dillard's earlier, justly praised work. His chapters on the origin, development, strength, and subtleties of black English are not only first-rate but are a signal contribution to the understanding of this neglected subject. His chapter on the

influence of English on the Spanish of Puerto Rico is also praiseworthy.

In general, and other than such flaws as those mentioned above, the weakness of this book does not lie in the author's facts, but in his effort to utilize these facts to support untenable theses. If one disregards such theses, the book is an interesting discussion of certain developments in American English.

Books

What is different — if so small a degree of contrast can be dignified with this word — is a minute portion of the American vocabulary. But grammatically, syntactically and even

stylistically, good, basic American-English and good, basic British-English are the same. Where a major difference exists, it is in pronunciation, which does not determine the existence of a separate language, any more than the difference in pronunciation between a Vermonter and a Mississippian does so.

After Professor Dillard's excellent work "Black English," this book is a disappointment. It is apparently animated by an anti-British, anti-Teutonic spirit which leads the author into some serious misstatements and false conclusions. Perhaps one example will suffice. It is the author's thesis, with which no one disagrees and which has been stated convincingly ever since H. L. Mencken wrote his classic "The American Language" on this very point, that American-English has been receptive to many words of outside origin.

Somehow, Professor Dillard seems to have reached the conclusion that this has changed the language basically. For he summarizes, in assessing today's linguistic heritage of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, "The extensive use of English by groups that would more than dwarf those three Germanic tribes has removed modern English from that historic tradition and placed it, whether we like it or not, in an international context in which rural English and nearly prehistoric German seem

distinguishable from what would have been written by a British colleague."

It is not a question of whether one likes it or not, but of linguistic facts. Grammatically, English is as wholly and as purely Teutonic when spoken by the Saxons as are modern German and Swedish. The same is true of it

stylistically and of the spirit with which it is spoken. It should be unnecessary at this date

to repeat this almost universally recognized fact.

There is no pleasure in merely piling up criticism, but it would seem the author just hasn't done all his homework in preparation for this book. Seeking to prove that the English spoken in American colonies bore no great resemblance to Elizabethan English, he mentions that, whereas Shakespeare often used impersonal verb constructions such as "it yearns me" and "it dislikes me," these are not found in American records.

Perhaps, but what of the fact that they

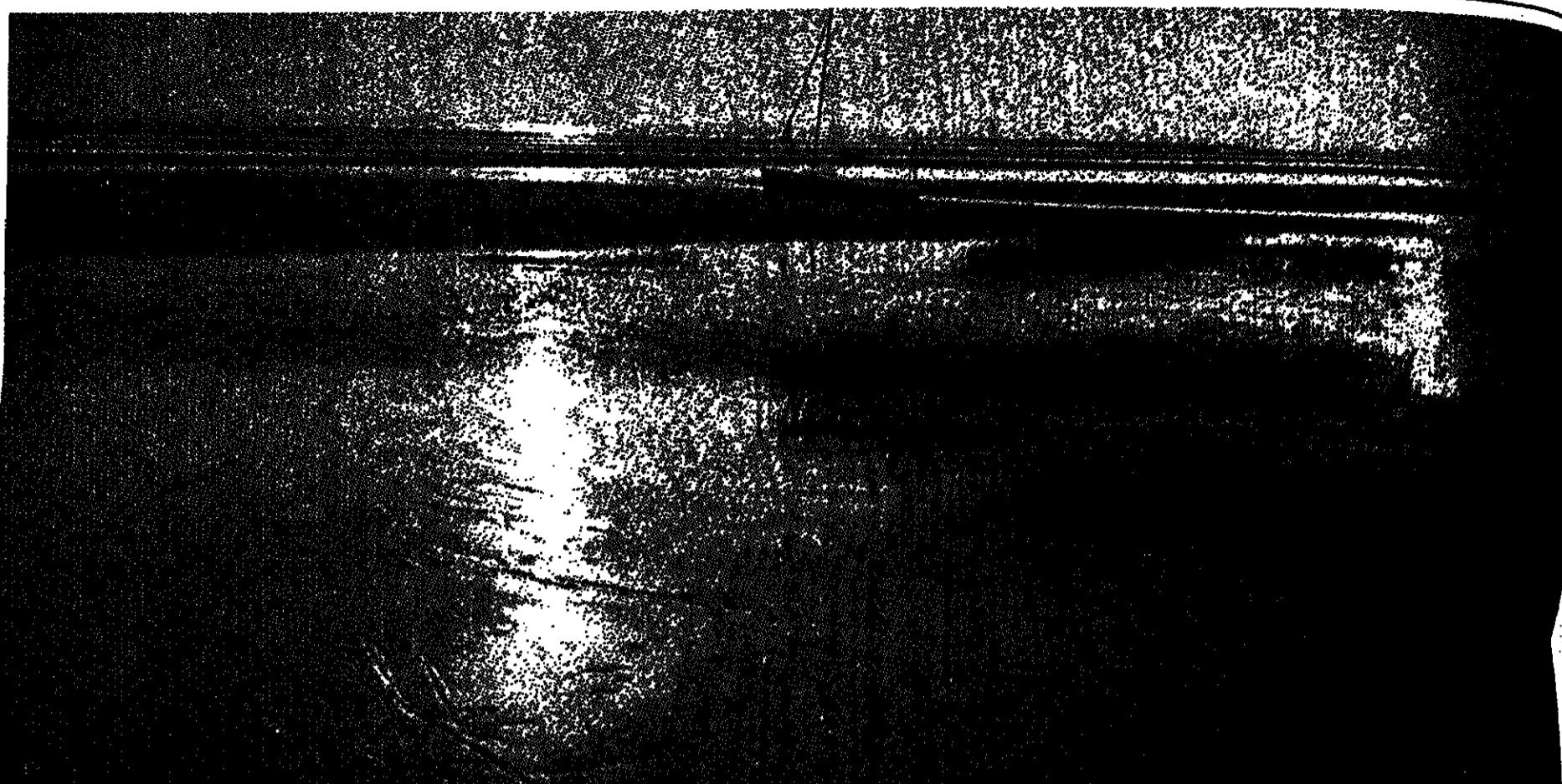
abound in modern American (and British) English, for example, it amazes (astounds, astonishes, amazes, hurts, perplexes, confuses, baffles, etc.) me (us, you, them)? Might not the argument be made that this very rise in the use of impersonal verbs in modern American-English bespeaks a movement back towards, rather than away from an earlier stage of the language as Professor Dillard believes it is happening? At least, the author could have coped helpfully with this question.

Actually, the author's attempt to prove that (a) there has been an extensive non-English influence on the American language and (b) American-English has diverged substantially from British-English are conclusively refuted by the professor's own language, which — and I hope he will pardon me for this — is both distinguished in and of itself and is virtually indistinguishable from what would have been written by a British colleague.

The best portion of this book is that which harks back to Professor Dillard's earlier, justly praised work. His chapters on the

origin, development, strength, and subtleties of black English are not only first-rate but are a signal contribution to the understanding of this neglected subject. His chapter on the

travel



Low tide on Cape Cod Bay near Eastham, Mass.

A bonus for visitors to Boston

By Leavitt F. Morris
Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Orleans, Massachusetts

"A land
where the blue
begins,
and the frets
of life cease."

That is how Arthur Wilson Tarbell in his book "Cape Cod Ahoy!" describes this narrow strip of sea-sweet land. No matter how many times I return, I am always refreshed by its relaxed and carefree atmosphere.

So do many visitors return time and time again to toss away everyday cares for the invigorating enjoyment of pine-scented landscapes and far-reaching seascapes, and to adopt a tempo of living which induces contentment.

Even though the compact area which is Cape Cod proper (76 miles from tip to top) literally bulges with tourists during the summer, one soon is aware of the timeless quality of the silver strands of beaches, the tides swishing on the shores, and the tangy, salty air.

Mingling with the natives, often referred to as the "saltiest of all American types," a visitor is quickly caught up in the easy-going, pleasant attitude of these people. They believe in keeping straight from the shoulder, with a hearty laugh and a friendly smile, and a real welcome and lasting friends.

14 years gone by, fishing and farming were the main livelihood of the people, but today tourism brings in a major income for Cape Codders. Thus they cater to the visitor's every whim.

Tourists can enjoy many annual events which include yacht races, an Indian powwow at Mashpee (July 4 to 8), beach buggy tours from Orleans to Provincetown, and summer theaters. This summer, Cape Codders will also sponsor special bicentennial celebrations.

For example, motorists traveling through Barnstable Village, Sandwich, Eastham, Yarmouthport, and South Yarmouth may see liberty poles resembling tall tree trunks. These are symbols of the famous Boston elm that the intrepid British cut down to avenge the stubborn resistance of the colonists.

Falmouth was the only place on Cape Cod

where a battle of the Revolutionary War was fought: Cannonballs were fired by the British into the town from ships anchored in the harbor. They did little damage but did raise the ire of the local militia to a point where it drove off the Red Coats. A cannonball imbedded in the wall of the Niumrod Club in Falmouth is a monument of that short battle.

Among the cape's many attractions is the Cape Cod National Seashore, a national park of nearly 25,000 acres. It extends from Orleans' Nauset Beach to Chatham and north to Provincetown.

Guided field trips, nature study tours, are offered in addition to audio-visual shows, a museum, and evening programs at the Visitor's Center in Eastham during the summer.

For hikers and bicycle enthusiasts, there are 12 trails in Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and Provincetown. The Button Bush trail in Eastham is laid out especially for the blind.

One of the cape's mellowing influences is the Cape Cod house nestled cozily among the pines or sitting astride a sandy hilltop with views of the sea. Scrubbed down by sun, wind, and rain, the Cape Cod house is as much a part of the scene as are dunes, beaches, and cliffs. The plan of those houses has persisted almost unchanged since the 17th century, probably originating in the one-room-and-loft cottage at Plymouth.

For Cape Cod information, write the Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce, Hyannis, Massachusetts 02601.

Nantucket: a ferry ride out to sea

By Mark Spain
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

"Look at it — a mere hillock, an elbow of sand. . . . What wonder, then, that these Nantucketers, born on a beach, should take to the sea for a livelihood!"

Herman Melville, "Moby Dick"

They did indeed take to the sea, and Nantucket became the whaling capital of the world. Though the whaling industry has died out in modern times, its impact on Nantucket can still be seen. This feeling of an old whaling town, combined with its charming 18th- and 19th-century architecture, has made the island one of the most popular summer resorts in the country.

Falmouth was the only place on Cape Cod

According to historians, the basic design can be traced back to Devon and Cornwall in England. The uniformity and simplicity of the basic plan allowed the affluent owner to add to the house without destroying its style. Most houses were built with timber from Maine.

Cape Cod, like most resort areas, is finding it necessary to boost the cost of food and lodging this summer. Accommodations vary from guest houses and tourist homes to motels and hotels, some in the luxury category.

Rates at some of the guest or tourist homes, which stress friendliness and informality, range from \$5 to \$11 a person per day. A few of these places have dining rooms.

Motels offer the biggest variety of accommodations and locations with rates from \$17 to \$45 a day for two persons. Luxury hotel accommodations can go as high as \$60 a day.

The least expensive accommodations for a family are cottages which provide kitchen facilities. These accommodations are in great demand and early reservations are advised.

There are a few hotels on the cape which operate on the American Plan (three meals a day) with rates starting at \$25 a day per person.

For Cape Cod information, write the Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce, Hyannis, Massachusetts 02601.



Yugoslavia: Holiday delight

By Kimmis Hendrick
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Porec, Yugoslavia
We've been to Dubrovnik more than once and we've toured Yugoslavia's spectacular Dalmatian coast as far north as Rijeka. We've spent two weeks on storied Korcula, that verdant Adriatic island fortified with honey-colored stone. Now we've found Porec.

It's our second visit. It's only three hours from Italy's Trieste by comfortable Yugoslav Pullman bus. The trip would take less time by car. Border officials stamp visas in passports free of charge, and, smiling, speak a little English.

We arrived the first time just as night fell, in time to see the shimmering Adriatic through the pine grove back of the bus station. A hotel? A gas-station attendant pointed down the seawall to the Neptun.

The scene was just what our scenario called for — tranquillity, speech-defying beauty, good accommodations. "Yes," said a cordial desk clerk who had worked in Florida, "we can give you a seaview room." It was off-season.

We paid about \$16 a night, including three meals (full pension). This was for the two of us. Had we come in July or August, it would have cost \$2 more.

"But you wouldn't want to come then anyway," said the desk clerk honestly. "Porec is jammed. People sleep in the streets."

If the answer is yes, book a cabin on a canal-barge ride through southern France. This area is the "other" France, where thrifty French tourists indulge themselves at bargain rates. It's still mostly unexploited, unhurried, and unsophisticated, but the luxury-loving French never stint where it counts — comfort, wonderful food, and relaxed service.

Northern Europeans flock here for the high season of sun and sea. (Just one of Porec's camping grounds takes 5,000 autos.) But for us, the attraction is history with comfort and spring or fall is the best time, although we'd not discourage the well-planned summer traveler.

Porec, a settlement in prehistoric times, became a Roman town in the 2nd century B.C.

It was Venetian later. It was Byzantine between. The old Roman road is Porec's main street now and the beautiful stone blocks that pave it shine with the polish of centuries.

It is a town of some 3,000 people.

We like to start exploring Porec at the remains of the Roman forum, then to come into the square surrounded by Gothic and Venetian palaces, go on to the mid-6th century Euphrasian Basilica, a church where the mosaics, undergoing restoration, already seem favorably, if modestly, comparable to those of Ravenna.

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With the exception of Carcassonne, the famous medieval fortress city, many of these villages seldom see American tourists. In fact, weeks later in frenzied St. Tropez, when we mentioned a charming hotel-restaurant in the town of Marsella to a Parisian, he asked,

"What country is that in?"

However, we did run into a few strangers, namely six English yachtsmen and two Ger-



By Gene Langley, staff artist

The medieval walled city of Carcassonne

Lazily barging through France

From Aigues-Mortes to Carcassonne along the peaceful Canal du Midi

By Helen Nichols
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Do you like to go barefoot, eat gourmet meals, and be exquisitely lazy?

If the answer is yes, book a cabin on a canal-barge ride through southern France. This area is the "other" France, where thrifty French tourists indulge themselves at bargain rates. It's still mostly unexploited, unhurried, and unsophisticated, but the luxury-loving French never stint where it counts — comfort, wonderful food, and relaxed service.

For a gourmet coming from a prepackaged culture, a trip to a French market can be pure joy. Twice a week the markets stretch out in and around the village square, in a more or less orderly hodgepodge. Each purveyor offers a "Bonjour, madame" and a smile — no less than perfection, in produce of manners, suits the French buyer out for the best bargin.

And perfection there is. Raspberries still bristling with tiny whiskers. Just-picked salad greens and herbs. Farm-yard eggs. Fine, natural cheeses. Ready-to-go hors d'oeuvres of quality. One need know little about cooking with such ingredients.

All those items, plus homemade quiches, went into our daily lunches aboard the Water Wanderer.

Our dinners, however, found us at a new restaurant every night. In one town, a hilltop village with only two street lights, the tiniest inn gave us the grandest possible welcome.

The innkeeper outdid herself arranging a private dining room with her best service and a lace cloth.

We dined on chicken consomme, perfectly broiled fresh trout, and a fine, "bissterak" followed by a salad and a cheese tray. Dessert was Pavlova cake, a meringue crust topped with crushed raspberries covered with clotted cream. Creme fraiche, to be correct. Who needs a Guide Michelin?

Back on deck, we exerted all of our natural resources in the sweet diversion of doing absolutely nothing. The landscape drifted by: sometimes the long green tunnels created by the trees on each side were all we could think of. We listened to the fish jump or inhaled the scent of hay at noon. When we became curious about the next day's destination, Captain de Bonrepas. He started the canal with his own funds for the purpose of water conservation and irrigation. In 1660 King Louis XIV came to his financial rescue with enough money to expand and construct a 350-mile ship canal with more than 180 locks. Now, commerce moves on the highways, which leaves the canal to pleasure craft.

The high aqueduct which crosses the River Orb was created by Pierre Paul Riquet, Baron

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home

How to keep the winds from flattening the garden

By Christopher Andree

Eldreth, North Yorkshire

High stakes (if you'll overlook the pun) are an integral part of good gardening: only in this case they mean not taking a risk. The motto is Stake Now or Pay Later. Weather forecasts are notoriously unreliable when it comes to detail about sudden lupin-flattening gusts; or the battering of broad beans by a torrential downpour.

This year I'm trying a (to me) new method with the herbaceous plants: four bamboo

Gardening

canes round each plant and squares — one above another — of plastic netting held taut by the stakes so that the plant grows up through the mesh (6-inch is best).

This is not only labor-saving, it's also very neat. The foliage hides the netting. There is no finicky tying of stakes to stakes. And above all the plant retains its natural shape — it isn't bound and bunched uncomfortably to a pole like Joan of Arc.

In the vegetable garden, peas and beans need staking. Broad beans need very robust stakes, stuck in deeply. They don't need to be higher than four feet as it's best to prevent your beans from growing too lanky and lean by pinching out their tops (which also encourages the beans lower down the stem to set quicker). Broad beans are usually grown in double rows, so place the stakes at intervals either side starting at the ends, and then string round them as the plants grow with as many strands as you think fit.

Peas and French beans (only growing to two

or three feet) can be supported similarly with shorter stakes, or by being interspersed with many-twisted "pea sticks" cut from some nearby woodland. It is best to poke these in the ground before actually sowing the seed, to avoid disturbing roots and growth. To be avoided in my humble opinion (and the opinion of some gardening friends who tried it) is the apparently tempest-proof technique of wailing your peas in on both sides with stiff wire-netting (or even the loose plastic type.) They found that although nothing meteorological even faintly disturbed such a construction, it was also virtually impossible to pick the peas.

Back in the flower department, there is much to be said for twigs dispersed among patches of those annuals which achieve any kind of stature — things like Clarkia, Godetia, cornflowers, annual poppies. These quick-growers are even more prone to proneness-after-rain than the perennials.

Two things that simply cannot be grown

without supports are runner beans and sweet-peas. They are climbers (remember Jack-and-the-?) and reach more or less for the sky. So give them as much height as you can, and remember that a row of either, sown with rain, has no trouble in collapsing a flimsy structure. Netting suspended between poles can be helped out with horizontal lengths of strong wire.

Wigwams of bamboo are another method. Strings or wires up a high, sunny wall are good. Or lines of seven or eight-foot poles, angled together in pairs, and tied near the top to a further horizontal pole, is perhaps the strongest method of all, and also allows plenty of breathing space for the plants, not to mention picking space for the pickers.

Greek soups are kind to budgets

By June Bibb
Written for
The Christian Science Monitor

Cooking Greek dishes with one eye on the budget comes naturally to Bessie Kourilas. Soup days twice a week and growing her own groceries are two economies she doesn't think twice about.

Food

Spinach and Rice

1 pound spinach, washed and drained
1 medium onion, chopped
2 tablespoons tomato paste or 1 can tomato sauce
1/2 cup each of oil and uncooked rice
1 cup water

Saute onion and celery in oil. Add remaining

ingredients. Salt and pepper to taste. Cover

and cook over medium heat for 30 minutes.

Serves four as main dish.

Wednesday and Fridays are traditionally

"soup days" in the Kourilas' house, just as

they were in Greece. Such main-dish favorites as lentil and black-eyed bean are served with

crusty bread, black olives, and bits of cheese

(feta, if the budget permits, cheddar for the

money saver).

Your favorite recipes and household

hints will be welcome. Please send them to

The Christian Science Monitor, Box 353-International, Antor Station, Boston,

MA 02123.

Clothes: 'Everybody's sloppy today'

By the Associated Press

"The so-called traditional type of clothing has disappeared," says Vincent de Paul Draddy, chief executive of David Crystal, the men's clothing chain.

"Women are more concerned with how they look than ever before, so a woman can't just mix up to suit herself."

At the same time, Mr. Draddy suggests, this new consumer attitude toward fashion can be disastrous, especially in the mix-and-match department.

"Now women will buy a pair of pants that doesn't go with the sweater that doesn't go with the blouse that doesn't go with the coat," he laments. "It would be much better if they let the manufacturer put it together."

Young people don't understand good clothes, good workmanship, good fabric. What's sad is they don't care. They buy expensive stuff but it doesn't look good. Even on the best taste level people have changed. Everybody's sloppy today."

Mr. Draddy says five factors must be present for a manufacturer to get a good "run" of 25,000 to 30,000 on a garment: fabric, cut,

style, color, price, and fit. But fabric, he insists, is most important.

"You can have the best-looking dress, in the right style, right color, right price, right fit. If it's the wrong fabric you won't sell it."

Mr. Draddy has practiced what he preaches. In 1967 he introduced the first men's wear line of women's dress shirts in men's shirts, a successful concept that started the men's fashion "world" in 1967. He also introduced the alligator status insignia on the Lacoste sport shirt.

"The fat stuff has got to come and go, but a classic such as the shirtwaist dress has been here for 40 years, and I see no reason why it won't be here the next 40, with variations, of course," he says.

As for women's penchant for pants, he says, "I think it's a fine fashion idea and one that will be here forever."

"It takes a long time for dresses to go up and a long time for them to go down. The change has to come naturally rather than be manufactured," says Mr. Draddy, who was one of the few to refuse to produce the disastrous "longuettes." "That failed because it was pushing fashion, and I don't think you can do that."

They read vertically, horizontally, diagonally, forwards, and occasionally, even

Can you find and circle the hidden education terms?

They read vertically, horizontally, diagonally, forwards, and occasionally, even

T N E M E C N E M M O C A B H A L P E T
O F R A T E R N I T Y E S T M B X T E L
A O L D B R A S B A D R A O B K C A L B
D U G A M L U S I B I L C T A K C A R O
G O W N X B L H C P M B A D E N U R C U
A K A N S E R O S S E F O R P A R L S A
T E M P O L U X O M R E N R U S E T S
A T G R E S A R C H U C U N I O N Q R S
L R E G A S R E S I V D A T C A M P Q C
N A E D L A K R Q N E R M R I B R U M O
R U X I T N E D I S E R P U P A F E R M
E Q A M A L T D E D K O U M A S T R E A
T U M O Q N A C M B O T S C L U B A T B
S A S R E T H A L L A U G H A D A K S M
E Q L D A M B P O U Y T I S R E V I N U
M X U T E V I T C E B L E Y E L S I N O R
S T R I Y T I R O R O S A L T K E Y E T
S U E W Z A P A N O I T A C U D E O C A

Veronica A. Rapai Answer block appears among advertisements



By Gordon N. Converse, chief

Gull finds a quiet spot for baby seal to sleep

will weave a blanket of gold. It will

from the deer and the squirrel

butterflies and raccoons who are

there."

This advice was indeed welcome

mother seal and to her baby. Who

wise old gull spread its strong

wings and flew in the direction of

a little cove, the mother seal and her

seal swam after it, toward that

peaceful place.

Just as they swam into the tiny

cove of Pebble Beach at Cypress

Point, the Monterey cypress

trees waved their dark green branches

welcome. The gentle wind was

sweetly, "Welcome, Welcome."

And sure enough, just as the wise old gull had said, there was a deer a

raccoon and a turtle and some butterflies

"We love it here," they all said

seals. "You will rest near the soft

of the quiet forest, and the ocean will

you to sleep."

The moon came out and wove a

blanket of gold for the baby seal. The

Pacific sang this song:

Baby seal, rest your head

on this green ocean bed

listen to my lullaby song

and it won't be very long

you'll be asleep, asleep

Allee

children

U.S. agency maintains worldwide disaster vigil

By Marion Bell Wilhelm
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Can human suffering be computerized?

If Nina King had been asked that question 30 years ago, at the close of World War II, she would have answered no. There was no way of computing the suffering of her own family in Cheboygan, Michigan, when they learned that her brother James was missing in action in the South Pacific.

Over the 10-year period in which the center grew from a three-desk emergency operation to a full-blown operations center resembling the chambers of the United Nations Security Council, Miss King has played all of the roles — sometimes all at once.

"For the first seven years, none of my duties changed," said the former operations officer, now planning assistant to assistant coordinator William R. Dalton. "I just kept adding new ones."

Nov. 13, 1970, for example, is a day she will never forget. "I happened to be the duty officer when East Pakistan was hit by the worst cyclone in the 20th century," she explains.

The disaster-relief duty officer is responsible for the initial U.S. response to any foreign disaster. The first official news came to Nina King in the middle of the night. "Cyclone hit East Pakistan at high tide," read the urgent cable telephone to Miss King from the State Department. "... tremendous loss of life ... communications out ... Ambassador requesting food, blankets, shelter ..."

By her count: Bangladesh registered 22 on this scale during the civil strife preceding its separation from Pakistan.

Nigeria, 21, in the civil war with Biafra.

Peru, 19, in one of the worst earthquakes of recent times.

East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), 18, in a cyclonic tidal wave and flood.

Nicaragua, 16, in an earthquake that destroyed its capital.

"When major disasters like these occur," she explains, "thousands, and sometimes millions, of people are affected. It is not our purpose to compute the degree of suffering, but rather the scope of the tragedy for the innocent populations involved. Getting the kind of help needed to the scene of the disaster at the right time and in the right quantities is the year-round business of the Foreign Disaster Coordination Center."

And sure enough, just as the wise old gull had said, there was a deer a

raccoon and a turtle and some butterflies

"We love it here," they all said

seals. "You will rest near the soft

of the quiet forest, and the ocean will

you to sleep."

It is like being in downtown Moscow," grinned another American as he watched five Russians in high leather boots whirl arm-in-arm in the fantail of the USS Albany in a high-kicking cossack dance.

"It's like being in a Red Sox baseball game," grinned another American as he watched five Russians in high leather boots whirl arm-in-arm in the fantail of the USS Albany in a high-kicking cossack dance.

A set of blue uniforms, white caps, and broad smiles engulfed the seven-piece band which twanged everything from the traditional "Moscow Nights" to a rock and roll finale of what sounded to an American ear like "Roll Over Beethoven."

Siberia and the prices of Cadillacs and gasoline in America.

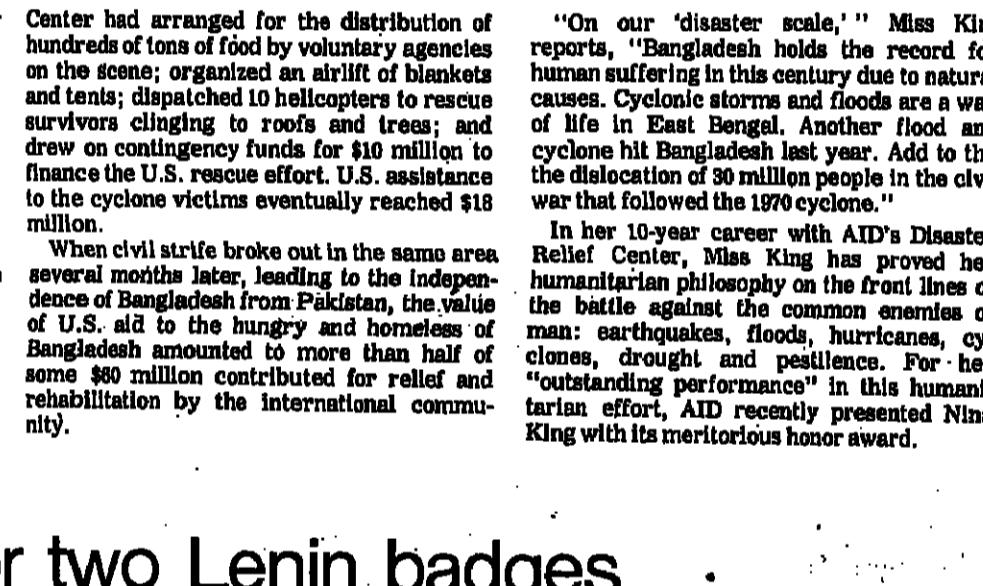
Rank transcended national boundaries. Officers of the two navies dined on salmon and prime rib while the enlisted men gobbled down pork chops and mashed potatoes.

Black bread and borscht, it was not. But the Soviet sailors were inquisitive. They delighted in the unfamiliar food and sights in their five

people/places/things



Disaster relief: Filipino flood victims clamour for food from helicopter crew



American and Russian sailors in Boston

Detente: a baseball pennant for two Lenin badges

By Stewart Dill McBride
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

It tasted like a hotdog, sounded like a Russian folk song, and came packaged in two destroyers.

Called detente — Navy-style — it was enjoyed by hundreds of Soviet and American sailors here last week.

The visit which commemorated the end of World War II was planned at the highest levels of their respective governments. Two Soviet destroyers — the Boykly and Zhugly — came to Boston where the U.S. cruiser Albany played host to them. As one American sailor put it: "We aren't letting politics get in our way."

Indeed not. In a few short days of mingling, "international agreements" meant promises to write letters and "foreign trade" became "I'll give you one Hot Rod magazine and a baseball pennant for two Lenin badges and a belt buckle with a hammer and sickle."

"This should have happened 20 years ago," said young American sailor Dennis Armstrong, keeping beat with his toe to the pounding rhythm of a Soviet sailors' band.

"It's like being in downtown Moscow," grinned another American as he watched five Russians in high leather boots whirl arm-in-arm in the fantail of the USS Albany in a high-kicking cossack dance.

A set of blue uniforms, white caps, and broad smiles engulfed the seven-piece band which twanged everything from the traditional "Moscow

French/German

An East-West, all European conference

By Eric Bourne

Vienna
The Warsaw Pact — Russia's answer to NATO — completes its 20-year term this week and will be renewed automatically for a further 10 years.

Within a few months its seven members will meet with the NATO powers (the United States and Canada included) and the European neutrals in an East-West, all-European conference on security and cooperation.

A Soviet proposal for such a conference, tied originally to the "neutralization" of Germany, is older than the Warsaw treaty itself and has been the present Kremlin leadership's principal political goal in Europe since the mid-1960s. It might have come earlier but for Russia's use of force through the pact to crush the Czechoslovak reform movement in 1968. As it was, the West made the Kremlin wait another four years before agreeing to begin its preparation.

Now, in the new atmosphere of detente, it looks to be "in the bag" and this, together with the fact that the Russians are not prolonging their "NATO" prompt questions of what line Soviet policy for Europe may adopt after such a conference.

The Russians created their Warsaw Pact in May, 1955, as a response to Western European Union and NATO's enlargement by the admission of a rearmed West Germany. Like the North Atlantic treaty, it stipulated that an attack on one member would be an attack upon all and it was described as a defensive alliance of nations facing "the common danger" of a possible "rebirth of militarism" in West Germany.

This was the constant target over the years, until it was silenced first by the Soviet-West German nonaggression treaty and later by general European detente (though, in their current negotiations with NATO on force reductions in Central Europe, the Russians

still harp most on West Germany's military potential).

The Warsaw Pact, however, provided also a very convenient new basis for keeping Soviet troops in Eastern Europe, over 10 years after the war had ended. And, although these were withdrawn in 1958 from Romania, the East-bloc state without a border "open" to noncommunist Europe, they were retained elsewhere in the area as a sure means of control in an uncertain period when national self-interest had begun to make itself felt, as in Poland and Hungary.

Both the "domestic" raison d'être for keeping the pact going and its value as an instrument of foreign policy opposed to NATO remain. But a new European situation will apply after the security conference is an accomplished fact, and the Warsaw treaty itself gives one clue to what may become the bloc's new political thrust for the future.

One of its concluding articles says that if

and when a system of collective security comes about on the basis of a European treaty, the Warsaw Pact "cease to be operative" (The simultaneous dismantling of NATO, of course, is implied).

The 35-nation European conference concerned with such a treaty, but not expected to emerge from the "summit" will undoubtedly be less and exploited by the Russians as a "peace and security treaty by proxy" than the original.

It has taken the Russians 20 years to security conference. They doubtless know that now a treaty on collective security will take so long. In any event, it may be much heard of in the next ten years.

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Mr. Bourne is the Monitor's correspondent in Eastern Europe.

Conférence paneuropéenne Est-Ouest

By Eric Bourne

Vienne

Récemment, le pacte de Varsovie, qui est la réplique soviétique à l'OTAN, a atteint son premier terme de 20 ans et a été reconduit automatiquement pour 10 autres années.

Les sept membres signataires vont rencontrer les puissances de l'OTAN (Italiens-Unis et Canada compris), ainsi que les pays neutres européens à l'occasion d'une conférence paneuropéenne Est-Ouest sur la sécurité et la coopération.

La proposition soviétique d'une telle conférence, originellement liée à la "neutralisation" de l'Allemagne, est plus ancienne que le pacte de Varsovie même; elle constitue, pour les dirigeants actuels du Kremlin, le principal but politique en Europe, depuis le milieu des années 60. Sans la révolution tchécoslovaque de 1968, écrasée par l'usage de la force soviétique en vertu du pacte qui les liait, cette conférence aurait pu avoir lieu plus tôt. Devant le Kremlin quelque quatre ans encore avant d'accéder à la préparation de cette conférence.

Le pacte de Varsovie en mai 1955 pour répliquer à l'élargissement de l'OTAN et de l'Union européenne occidentale du fait de l'admission de la R.F.A. "firmé" à l'instar du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord, le pacte stipulait que toute attaque dirigée contre l'un de ses membres serait considérée comme une attaque sur tous les pays signataires et on le décrivait comme une alliance défensive des nations faisant face au "danger commun" d'une possible "renaissance du militarisme" de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest.

Ce fut là pendant des années le but constamment poursuivi jusqu'au moment où il fut réduit au silence d'abord par le traité de non agression U.R.S.S.-R.F.A. et ensuite par la déclaration générale en Europe (quoique les Russes râchent surtout quant au potentiel militaire de la R.F.A. au cours des négocia-

tions présentes avec l'OTAN concernant la réduction des forces en présence en Europe centrale).

Toutefois, le pacte de Varsovie prévoit un nouveau moyen très pratique pour permettre aux Soviétis de maintenir leurs troupes en Europe orientale pendant plus de 10 ans après la fin de la guerre. Et, tout en les ayant retirées de Roumanie en 1958, la seule nation du bloc communiste disposant de son propre "ouvert" à l'Europe non communiste, les Soviets conservent ces armées autre part dans la même zone en guise de moyen sur de la sécurité par précaution, contre toute autre, le statu quo au regard de l'Allemagne et de l'Europe.

La raison d'être "intérieure" de la validité du pacte comme aussi sa valeur en tant qu'instrument de politique étrangère opposé à l'OTAN, disparaissent. Toutefois, lorsque la conférence de sécurité sera devenue un fait accompli, une nouvelle situation européenne apparaîtra et le pacte de Varsovie lui-même laissera entrevoir ce qui pourra être le prochain fardeau politique de la bloc soviétique.

En effet l'un des derniers articles du

pacte déclare que si et quel système de sécurité collective est sur base d'un traité européen général de Varsovie "cessera d'être rationnel" le jour même où il s'entraîne en vigueur. (Ceci est implicitement, bien entendu, le déclenchement de l'OTAN.)

La conférence des 35 nations européennes ne se préoccupera pas du traité, mais on s'attend à ce qu'il "commette à finir prudemment une décision que les Russes interpréteront comme une sorte de traité de paix et sécurité par précaution" contre autre, le statu quo au regard de l'Allemagne et de l'Europe.

Il a fallu 20 ans pour que le parvienne à cette conférence à établir. Il est donc sans aucun doute au moins d'un siècle la mise en œuvre du traité de sécurité collective ne pourra pas si longtemps.

On en a de toute façon beaucoup parlé pendant les dix dernières années du pacte de Varsovie.

M. Bourne est le correspondant du Monitor en Europe de l'Est.

Eine Ost-West-Konferenz für ganz Europa

By Eric Bourne

Wien

Der Warschauer Pakt — Russlands Gegenstück zur NATO — besteht nun 20 Jahre und wurde kürzlich auf weitere zehn Jahre verlängert.

In den nächsten Monaten werden seine

verschiedensten Ost-West-Konferenzen in ganz Europa stattfinden. Die Sicherheit ist die Säule, auf der die Gegenstücke der Ost-West-Konferenzen aufbauen.

Der Warschauer Pakt ist älter als der Warschauer Pakt selbst, und seit der Mitte der sechziger Jahre haben die gegenwärtigen Kremlführer sie als das hauptsächliche Ziel ihrer Europapolitik angestrebt. Es wäre vielleicht früher zu dieser Konferenz gekommen, wenn Rußland nicht 1968 unter dem Vorwand des Paktes die Reformbewegung in der Tschechoslowakei gewaltsam zerschlagen hätte. Daraufhin ließ der Westen den Kreml weitere vier Jahre warten, ehe er sich bei der erklärte, die Konferenz ins Auge zu fassen.

Die war in all den Jahren immer das Ziel gewesen, bis es zuerst durch den Nichtangriffspakt zwischen der Sowjetunion und Westdeutschland und später durch die allgemeine Entspannung in Europa gegenstandlos wurde (obgleich die Russen, bei ihren gewährten Verhandlungen mit den

NATO über den Abbau der Streitkräfte in Mitteleuropa noch immer am meisten auf dem militärischen Potential Westdeutschlands herumreiten).

Der Warschauer Pakt gab ihnen jedoch auch einen sehr bequemen neuen Grund, weiterhin sozialistische Truppen in Westdeutschland zu stationieren — und das mehr als zehn Jahre nach Kriegsende. Weil es auch 1958 aus Rumänien und zur NATO die durch die Aufnahme des wiederhergestellten Westdeutschland erweitert worden war. Wie im Nordatlantik-Pakt wurde darin vereinbart, daß ein Angriff auf ein Mitglied Angriff auf alle Vertragspartner angesehen würde und er würde als ein Verteidigungsbündnis zwischen Ländern bezeichnet, die sich "dieselben Gefahren" gegenübersehen, einem möglichen "Wiederauftreten des Militarismus" in Westdeutschland.

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beispielsweise, daß, wenn ein System der Sicherheit auf der Basis gemeinsamer europäischer Verbündete kommt, der Warschauer Pakt wird, wo der neue Vertrag ist.

Die europäische Konferenz wird nicht mit einem solchen Vertrag die Erklärung, die so erwartet auf der Abschlußsitzung der Konferenz verabschiedet wird, von den Russen als ein Ersatz für einen Friedens- und Sicherheitsvertrag ausgesetzt und ausgetauscht werden, der unter anderem die

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Eric Bourne ist Sonderkorrespondent des Monitors in Osteuropa.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]
Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Vivre une existence simple

Hier, je contemplais une mouette qui volait dans un vent violent. Cela ne semblait pas constituer un problème pour elle; elle utilisait le vent pour s'élever et se déplacer. Tout cela démeurait pour elle si simple et si léger!

Mal nous, en tant qu'humains, que faisons-nous? Est-ce que nous ne laissons pas trop souvent nos mauvaises réactions et nos pensées inutiles compliquer notre existence à tel point que la vie semble devenir une réelle éprouve?

Comment pouvons-nous faire en sorte que nous vivions une existence simple, naturelle, et pourtant constructive?

Nous pouvons y arriver en nous tournant totalement vers Dieu, l'intelligence suprême, le Prince fondamental de l'être. En Science Chrétienne nous Le connaissons en tant qu'Amour divin, tout ce qui est véritablement réel, beau et puissant. Nous apprenons que Dieu, Prince, Amour, Vie, Entendement parfaits — non la matière — constitue tout notre être. Il nous donne à chacun une identité spirituelle qui est sainte, libre de tout mal.

Cette Science explique que notre existence quotidienne est le résultat des pensées et des concepts auxquels inconsciemment et inconsciemment nous croyons et nous nous soumettons. Elle nous enseigne comment, en entretenant des pensées spirituelles de nous-mêmes et d'autrui, nous pouvons vivre sous la loi divine de l'harmonie et de la santé, au lieu de nous laisser emporter par les courants tumultueux de la croyance matérialiste inharmonieuse.

Comme nous le lisons dans la Bible, l'épître Paul nous a averti de ne pas perdre la simplicité à l'égard du Christ. « En dans son message aux Philippiens, il énumérait certains éléments de la simplicité semblable à la nature du Christ. « Au reste, frères, leur dit-il, que tout ce qui est vrai... honnable... juste... pur... aimable... qui mérite l'approbation, ce qui est vertueux et digne de louange, soit l'objet de vos pensées. »

Je me souviens d'une époque où la vie me paraissait désespérément compliquée à cause de mon orgueil égoïste et de l'orgueil de quelqu'un que je ne souffrais de quelque chose ou de quelque malaise. Mais peu à peu tout se résolut grâce à la Vérité divine — source du pouvoir-Christ par lequel Jésus, notre Guide, guérissait — m'apportant une paix intérieure à moi-même, et me rendant la santé.

¹II Corinthiens 11:3; ²Philippiens 4:8; ³Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures, p. 255.

¹Christian Science: prononcer "christian science"

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, "Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures", de Mary Baker Eddy, est avec la bénédiction de l'auteur. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, USA 02116.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne, écrivez à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, USA 02116.

²2. Corinthien 11:3 [in der engl. Bibel];

³Philippiens 4:8; ³Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 255.

¹Christian Science: apriku: kriatien s'alens

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christianischen Wissenschaft „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem Originaltext auf die gebräuchlichsten Begriffe übertragen. Das Buch kann in den Salles de Lecture der Christianischen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, USA 02116.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erhält auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, USA 02116.

„Es werde Licht!“ ist die beständige Forderung von Wahrheit und Liebe, die das Chaos in Ordnung und die Dis-

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]
Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Halte es einfach

Gestern beobachtete ich eine Möve, die im starken Wind dahinflieg. Sie machte kein Problem aus dem Wind, sondern ließ sich von ihm heben und tragen. Sie machte es sich so einfach und freute sich daran!

Doch was tun wir Menschen? Komplizieren wir nicht allzu unser Leben durch nachteilige Reaktionen und Gedanken, die nicht helfen — sogar so sehr, daß es geradezu wie eine schwere Prüfung vorkommen kann?

Wie können wir ein unkompliziertes, müheloses, aber dennoch nützliches Leben führen? Indem wir uns ganz und gar Gott zuwenden, der allerbekannte Intelligenz, dem grundlegenden Prinzip des Seins. In der Christlichen Wissenschaft lernen wir Ihn als göttliche Liebe verstehen, als alles, was wahrhaft, wirklich, schön und mächtig ist. Wir lernen, daß Gott, das vollkommen Prinzip, Liebe, Leben, Gemüt — nicht die Materie —, unser ganzes Sein ausmacht. Er verleiht jedem von uns eine geistige Identität, die heilig und von Ewigem frei ist.

Diese Wissenschaft erklärt, daß unser tägliches Leben das Ergebnis der Gedanken und Vorstellungen ist, denen wir wissenschaftlich oder unwillentlich aussetzen. Sie lehrt uns, wie wir durch geistiges Denken über uns selbst und andere unter Gottes Gesetz der Harmonie und Gesundheit leben können, anstatt in die turbulenten Wirbel unharmonischer materialistischer Annahmen gezogen zu werden.

Wie wir in der Bibel lesen, ermahnte der Apostel Paulus die Menschen, nicht die „Einfachheit, die in Christus ist“ zu verlieren. Und in seinem Brief an die Philippener zählt er einige Eigenschaften auf, die christliche Einfachheit ausmachen. Er sagt: „Weiter, lieber Brüder: Was wahrhaft ist, ... ehrbar, ... gerecht, ... rein, ... lieblich, was wohllautet, ist etwa eine Tugend, ist etwa ein Lob, dem denkt man nach!“

Ich erinnere mich an eine Zeit, wo ich mir durch egoistischen Stolz und starren Eigensinn das Leben hoffnungslos kompliziert machte. Es verging kaum eine Woche, ohne daß ich Schmerzen oder irgendwelche Beschwerden hatte. Doch die göttliche Wahrheit — der Ursprung der Christlichen Wissenschaft — durch Jesus, unser Wegweiser, heilte — entwirte allmählich alles für mich, gab mir Frieden und machte mich gesund.

Sie tut dies für einen jeden.

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Die Russen haben 2

Portrait of a lady

What with the droughts, the floods, the unsuitability of the soil and the sheer immensity of the tasks of settlement, it seems a marvel today that Australians in the latter half of the last century had any time at all for cultural pursuits.

Yet time they did have, and money too.

In 1859, only eight years after Melbourne became the capital of the new state of Victoria, a public art gallery was established.

In both Melbourne and Sydney, professional artists were already recording the local scene on canvas, paper, and board, preserving for posterity some revealing glimpses of life in this new pioneering community. These colonial artists were, understandably, painting in the style and tradition of the European art that constituted their cultural heritage. In fact, students at the new gallery's art school spent their time copying the uniformly mediocre European works that hung on the walls. But toward the end of the 1860s an Australian artist returned from his travels in Europe with a new vision of what art in the new country should be.

Freed from imitativeness, beholden to foreign authorities and entirely released from the prevailing "brown varnish" habit, Tom Roberts, "the father of Australian art," used his vision and drive to found the first school of art in the antipodes.

Inspired in part by pleinairism, two of whose exponents Roberts met in Spain, and in part by the English Pre-Raphaelites, the first school of Australian painting was yet distinctively Australian in purpose and philosophy. It was named the Heidelberg School after the district where its followers camped.

Artists of this first Australian school of painting did not merely visit the countryside to paint it in the British landscape tradition, as their predecessors had done; they actually set up camps in the bush and painted, on the spot, what they saw around them.

The brilliant Australian sun and the totally different color patterns made by the eucalyptus gave them inspiration to throw off everything in their European heritage that was irrelevant to the Australian scene. Their art acquired a consciously national rather than a merely colonial style.

Earlier in his career, Tom Roberts had earned a living by preparing sets for a portrait photographer and by decorating the borders of finished photographs with Australian flowers and fruit. Now, as he gradually became recognized as an accomplished artist, he received commissions from the increasingly affluent urban society for portraits.

Few citizens of the new country were prepared to buy paintings of scenes set in the bush, even when these conformed to the current convention that every picture must tell a story or illustrate a moral anecdote. In the pioneering spirit of the time, therefore, which demanded that a man turn his hand to anything that needed to be done, Roberts took up portrait painting with vim and imagination, producing paintings that rank among his very best works.

Many support strongly his right to a foremost position in the country's cultural history.

"Portrait of Florence," painted in 1896, is a sensitive and delicate portrayal of fashionable young woman, confirming that even in this young country, struggling for survival, feminine grace and artistic appreciation were accorded an honored place.

It was his income from portraits that enabled Roberts to paint his large genre pictures of scenes in the newly settled outback, and he often traveled hundreds of miles to gather material for these canvases.

Artists in the neighborhood where he wore in the city when painting society ladies, in the bush Roberts dressed as a "swagman," including an ancient hat with corks hanging from the brim. A jacket thrown over the saplings formed his mattress; he used his boots as a pillow.

It was because of the success of the sheep stations that new cities prospered and graceful society ladies could enrich city life with their elegance and refinement. And it was because Tom Roberts was an artist who loved to paint shirt-sleeved shearers as well as beribboned beauties in a style that no longer slavishly imitated European ideas that he became "the father of Australian art."

Ronald Vickers



"Portrait of Florence" 1896: Oil on canvas by Tom Roberts

I have loved the sound of water, the ringing of rain at midnight and the sweet music of mountains in a storm; the flutter of wet leaves after rain in early fall; the gray swirling of water by the mill; and little murmurings of streams that flow through flower-dotted meadows or a quiet green wood where only birds and children play.

There is a timeless healing in the sound of water that I will never let my heart forget, and sometimes after sorrow there is comfort whenever I remember a sparkling stream that makes a pathway through the crust of snow. All this decades ago and half a world away.

Nonie Nolan

Bright spectacle

Almost too much of spectacle that day — Wide fields sild by and merged, and narrow bridges. And little streams. An unfamiliar way. We traced through grassy valleys, we climbed the ridges. Above long wooded slopes. Sometimes the road Dipped crookedly down a hillside, doubling back — The memory blurr a bit. But a spire showed. Against the evening sky, slender and black. In the weakening light, and presently after a run Uphill between thick hedges, veering right. We passed a little church. Her back to the sun, A woman knelt by the door, her arm curved tight About the waist of a tiny girl — a small Bright spectacle, it does not blur at all.

Elijah L. Jacobs

Shores of Botany Bay

It is more than a year now since I left my beloved Botany Bay, sailing back to my native England from Sydney Harbor. For my stay in Australia, it was my good fortune to find a home about three minutes walk from the white sands that ring Botany Bay — a huge, almost circular bay, facing east. At midsummer the sun rises through the heads opposite my home-for-a-year, called Brighton-Le-Sands.

The day before I left I woke early and walked in the dawn light to see the sunrise. As I waited on the sands an early fisherman stood at the water's edge, while a jet took off from the runway jutting out into the north side of the bay and soared silver in the sun's rays. A moment later a runner sprinted along the sand left damp from the receding tide. The sky and the bay became palest rose, then shimmering golden as the sun rose between the distant heads of the bay.

I had often spent hours walking along the shore, always interested, always fascinated, and I lingered fondly now, strolling barefoot on the wet sand. A little rowing boat was towing something behind it; I could see now as I walked towards it, a horse's head rising from the water. This was something I had not seen before — a horse, enjoying an early morning swim. The man was rowing towards the shore, he jumped out and pulled his boat up on the sand, but the reluctant horse was not ready yet; she lay down in the shallow water and let the waves ripple around her. Her master coaxed and pulled till she stood on the sand and allowed him to brush her coat. By this time I had reached them.

"Does she have a swim every morning?" I asked. "No, but she would like to," her owner replied. "I bring her when I can."

I found the tiny colored shells, newly washed up by the tide, and gathered my last

The Monitor's religious article

Keep it simple

I watched a sea gull flying in a strong wind yesterday. He didn't make a problem of the wind, but used it to lift and carry himself along. He kept it all so simple and buoyant!

But what do we humans do? Do we not, far too often, complicate our experience with harmful reactions and unhelpful thinking — even to the point where life can seem an outright ordeal?

How can we make sure to keep it simple, unlabored, and still constructive? We can do it by turning fully to God, the supreme Intelligence, the basic Principle of being. In Christian Science we know Him as divine Love, all that is truly real, beautiful, powerful. We learn that God, perfect Principle, Love, Life, Mind — not matter — constitutes our whole being. He gives each of us a spiritual identity that is holy, free from evil.

This Science explains that our daily experience is the outcome of the thoughts and concepts to which we knowingly and unknowingly give credence and so submit ourselves. It teaches us how, by thinking spiritually of ourselves and others, we can live under God's law of harmony and health, instead of being swept into the turbulent downdrifts of discordant materialistic belief.

As we read in the Bible, the Apostle Paul warned against losing "the simplicity that is in Christ."¹⁰ And in his message to the people of Philippi, he enumerated some components of Christ's simplicity: "Finally, brethren, be told them, 'whatever things are true, . . . honest, . . . just, . . . pure, . . . lovely, . . . of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.'"

I remember a time when self-centered pride, combined with a driving willfulness, seemed to be hopelessly complicating life for me. Hardly a week would go by without my experiencing pain or discomfort of some sort. But divine Truth — source of the Christ-power by which Jesus, our Way-shower, healed — gradually unangled it all for me, and made me well.

It will do the same for anyone.

"Let there be light" is the perpetual demand of Truth and Love, changing chaos into order and discord into the music of the spheres,¹¹ writes Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science.

Regardless of what the material situation seems to be, God has a right plan and place for us. Expressing "the simplicity that is in Christ" will reveal it to us and keep us safe and healthy each step of the way.

Dishonesty, resentment, complaining, grieving, self-pity, discouragement — these only complicate life. They act like poisons that claim to infect not only the atmosphere, but also our careers, relationships, and bodies.

God has made us spiritual, for He is divine Spirit. We are the divine Mind's perfect ideas. And we need positively to know that as such we all move together in accord, never in conflict. Love motivates and blesses every thought and act of God's man.

The prayer of knowing what is divinely

true silences fear. It properly restores body structure and functions. It can bring forth the agreements that will stop wars, provide food to feed the hungry, and supply the wisdom to rightly regulate our governments, economies, homes, and families.

If we will give our whole hearts to the Father who loves us, we will gain the sense of living in Him that doesn't require struggle and suffering. This sense of life is simple, harmonious, beautiful, and our prayers can keep it that way.

¹⁰II Corinthians 11:3; ¹¹Philippians 4:8; ¹²Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 255.

BIBLE VERSE

A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation.

Psalm 68:5

A search that satisfies

Today perhaps more than at any time in recent history long-held concepts are being challenged. Beliefs about religion, about God, about health, about the very substance of things are changing. There is a searching and rethinking going on.

In a deeply satisfying way Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy provides a solid basis for rethinking basic assumptions. This book can help its readers understand God. It will help them look beneath the claims of material reality to the permanent truth of spiritual creation.

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Russell Spears

Reconciliation

The past she wakes to in the empty night Is a smoking flax whose flame was long put out, or that old love whose winter in her wears his white pretense of death. She cries for light beneath the running sap to age the dark, redeem the child of hate.

The tree that served the autumn down her cares must vindicate its sacrament of leaves, remind the virgin in the stricken root. No time is late to shake the falling vowels from her breath. Suddenly morning breaks across her tears.

Godfrey John

Omega and Alpha

Earth needed one whole summer Of sunshine, rain, and dew To fashion and to scent this pear That I now give to you.

Enjoy it, please, remembering How, on the verge of Spring, Nature gave you another gift: A pear tree blossoming.

Godfrey John

OPINION

A solemn warning from King Hussein

By Charles H. Percy

Washington

In our national preoccupation with the rapid-fire sequence of events in Vietnam, there has been a tendency to overlook a blunt warning of trouble ahead in another quarter. Jordan's King Hussein, on a private visit to Washington recently, told us insistently that a new military confrontation in the Middle East could be only months away.

King Hussein has spoken in this ominous way before. When I visited him in January he described the situation in his tinderbox region as "a false peace that is shrinking by the hour." Whatever the timetable, we ignore Hussein's warning and others like it at our peril. Time indeed is running out on our best opportunity to avoid what he calls "the military option" in the Middle East.

Now can we be at all confident that any new resort to arms can be localized. Renewed fighting between Arab and Israeli will instantly heighten the danger of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers so deeply involved there.

If war comes it will not be because a majority or even a sizable minority on either side wants it. It will come because not enough was done to prevent it.

Seldom in history has a third party labored so diligently — and to some degree successfully — to achieve peace as the U.S. has done and is continuing to do in the Middle East. Yet ultimately only the Arabs and the Israelis

themselves can create an accommodation more lasting than the "false peace" we cling to now.

What, then, can the moderate, peace-seeking leadership on both sides do to bring about a settlement that might endure?

To begin with, I believe the Arabs must try to better understand Israel's deep fears for its safety, indeed for its very existence. Such fears are rooted in memories of the holocaust. They were fed by the rhetoric of Nasser, who left Israelis with the impression that he would like to see their young nation pushed into the sea. And currently they are embodied in the "dream" of Arafat — expressed last fall at the United Nations — to create a secular Palestinian state of Muslims, Jews, and Christians.

To most Israelis, this was a threat to the survival of Israel as a primarily Jewish state. At the very least, the Palestine Liberation Organization's wanton terror raids and its unwillingness to accept Israel's sovereignty can only add to Israel's understandable fears.

Arabs leaders could ease those fears by saying publicly and clearly what they have told me and others privately: that they do accept Israel's right to exist. (And while they're at it, they might literally put Israel "on the map" where it rightfully belongs. I have not seen the state of Israel on a single Arab map.)

One step Egypt in particular could take is to allow passage of Israeli-cargo and Israeli-flag ships through the Suez when it is reopened next month. And there are other moves that



chosen spokesman for the Palestinians — a leader both acknowledged and supported by the entire Arab world — in this world we cannot afford to be adversaries. If Israel continues to talk with Arafat and the PLO, the possibility of a durable peace.

I also believe there will be a Israel, no security for Israel, as drawn from most of the lands it has since the 1967 war. Egypt and Jordan are more likely to passively and reluctantly forfeit that land than Israel positions are reversed. When a will probably have to be made at borders, especially along the critical Golan Heights, the occupied territory is a pragmatically settlement that is to have no success.

At this point, concessions are in both camps to involve risk. In concessions is to risk more. In sides who hesitate might withdraw from the remarkable Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's peace with our neighbors ... if they will not reluctantly agree to settle the occupied territory is a pragmatically settlement that is to have no success.

It must understand the unified Arab insistence that there can be no meaningful settlement until a permanent homeland is established for the displaced Palestinians. Who more than the Israelis should be sympathetic to the desire of Palestinians for recognition and a home of their own? It is as if — dizzied by the ever more complex twists of history — we envy the pastoral plottiness, the generic repetition of animals' lives. Indeed we almost seem to envy them their superior character. For in our more reckless moments we come close to saying: "It wouldn't be a bad world at all — except for people."

Melvin Maddocks

Beastly friends

A friend confides he is simultaneously reading "Waterloo Down" and "Shardik" — conducting a calculated retreat from the human race into Richard Adams' world of super-best-selling rabbits and bears.

And when he gets tired of rabbits or bears or just plain reading, he can always switch on television — can't he? — and view the latest underwater saga from Jacques Cousteau, the newest "Born Free" installment by Joy Adamson, or the latest field report on chimpanzees out of Jane Goodall.

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The whale is the latest creature to receive our slightly romantic admiration.

"In the distance, a great white mass lazily rose, and rising higher and higher, and disentangling itself from the azure, at last gleamed before our prow like a snow-slide, new slid from the hills. . . . Slowly it subsided and sank. Then once more arose, and silently gleamed. It seemed not a whale; and yet, is this Moby Dick?"

Thus occurs one of the great confrontations in American literature.

Is Melville's whale benign or sinister? "I doubt if even Melville knew exactly," D. H. Lawrence concluded. But Lawrence, as usual, had his own opinion: The whale, he maintained, is "warm-blooded, he is lovable."

Still another recent TV special ("Magnificent Monsters of the Deep") seemed to corroborate Lawrence. "Tender" and "affectionate" were the words applied by Roger Payne to the whales he studied so patiently off Argentina.

Why is it so important to convince ourselves these days that Nature has a good heart? Do we assume that if we can prove chimpanzees or lions or whales are reasonably kindly, reasonably innocent, then there is hope for men, too, despite our wars and rumors of wars?

But this hope leads to a further, well-discussed responsibility. If whales are, in fact, "tender" and "affectionate," men ought to behave tenderly and affectionately toward them. Here we disembark from Melville's whaling ship into the deadly but scrupulous 20th century, where the earth and its scarred creatures seem to stand in moral judgment on their plunderers — on those better the archaeologist Loren Eiseley calls the "world eaters."

As a young man, Dr. Eiseley climbed a difficult and dangerous cliff — losing his knapsack on the way up — hoping to discover in the remote cave near the top the archaeological find he dreamed of in those days. He found instead an owl's egg. He looked at the nest and imagined a prehistoric skull beneath it that would enlighten the world and make the Eiseley name a household word. Should he, then sacrifice the life of an unborn owl? No, he decided, and felt the better man for it. He had not become a "world eater."

What a complicated business this interpersonal, intercreature relationship can be! Do animals come under the heading of "neighbors" in our canon of ethical obligations? Even if they now and then behave as our "enemies," does it behove us to behave as their "friends"?

With a new kind of self-consciousness we watch ourselves, and we watch the animals. And — like Dr. Eiseley, presumably, climbing down the cliff, returning from pre-history to the human race — we wonder: If I love an owl's egg, will I learn to love people, too?

Joseph C. Harsch

Mr. Lee's common sense

We are indebted to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore for the most sensible thing said yet about the consequences in the world from the American refusal to save the Saigon government from final defeat at the hands of Hanoi.

While President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were reassuring every VIP visitor who stopped by (and the list has been a long one) that the United States will keep its commitments, Mr. Lee suggested that it would be helpful for the President and the Congress to speak with one voice.

The statesmen of the world are no dummies. All of them have long since learned something about the way the American Constitution operates. They know without anyone having to tell them that a president in Washington can make valid commitments only by and with the consent of the Congress.

The American creditability about which Dr. Kissinger so worries these days results from the fact that President Nixon made commitments without the knowledge or consent of anyone in the Congress. The text of his letters to former President Thieu of Vietnam belong to an aberrant phase in American history. Mr. Nixon was certainly not the first American President to make private commitments but I know of no case in American history where any other President made such a strong commitment without any assurance of non-interference by Congress.

Mr. Lee's common sense is that the United States might do what is now generally called the era of the "imperial presidency." Beginning with the Kennedy administration there was a growing assumption around the White House that a president could commit the United States by his own word.

Any president at any time can command himself, one can say, quite properly, that under certain circumstances he will try to persuade the Congress to take some special course of action. But he cannot promise that the course of action will be taken. That must depend on the Congress. Mr. Nixon made a specific promise to President Thieu that in the event of a violation of the Paris agreements he would take military action.

That promise had come to seem normal around the White House by 1973. It would not have been normal in the pre-Kennedy period of American history. Eisenhower was extremely careful to operate foreign policy

exclusively within the limits of known congressional approval. President Truman was equally scrupulous. In the period just before Pearl Harbor President Roosevelt was widely accused of lagging behind public opinion. He had no intention of making a single warlike step without first being sure he had Congress, and public opinion, behind him.

The willingness of the United States to fulfill its commitments is not in question. But the ability of any president to make a secret commitment on his own responsibility is in question.

Prime Minister Lee has put his finger on this point. A presidential policy without the approval of Congress is worthless. It always should have been, and usually was. President Ford cannot regain the confidence of the outside world by merely asserting what will happen. He will regain it (insofar as it may have been lost) by practicing a foreign policy limited strictly to what Congress and public opinion will support.

Perhaps it would be a prudent thing to have a review of all existing American commitments. Let Congress go over the list, and decide in each case whether the commitment should be confirmed or repudiated. Perhaps there has been too much in the way of easy commitments. Probably fewer than all the commitments on the books right now would be valid if the president had to go to Congress to get them.

No one can actually know right now what the United States might do under all circumstances. I think we do know that it will sustain the NATO alliance and its members. It is committed to fight for South Korea by contract and by the fact of 38,000 American troops there now. (The U.S. Second Infantry Division is deployed between the frontier and Seoul.) The U.S. is bound both by treaty and by obvious self-interest to fight for Japan. Beyond that? There are some murky places on the map where the extent of the American commitment may well be fuzzy and uncertain.

Such uncertainty can be dangerous. It was fatal in 1950 when the North Koreans thought they could march South without any American intervention. They made a mistake. It is desirable, indeed it is urgently vital, to avoid the danger of someone making a similar mistake in the future. There should be no doubt about what the United States will or won't do.

What really holds Goldwater to Ford is this: he likes the cut of the man. He likes a person who looks him squarely in the eye — as Ford does. He likes the firm Ford handshake.

Washington Letter

Courting Goldwater's son

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

They call it the "Goldwater factor" in this city. What it means is this: No single Republican outside the President is more influential than he. For this reason President Ford woes him, calling him on the phone from time to time to ask advice. And for this same reason those among the right wing who would like to have Mr. Ford deposed next year — among them Ronald Reagan — also court the grizzled warrior from Arizona. Thus it is that one of the most persistent questions being asked these days in the highest GOP circles, among leaders of varying ideologies, is this: "Where will Goldwater be in 1976? Will he be a challenge aimed at displacing Gerald Ford?"

Already Mr. Goldwater seems to be giving his answer. He has said — flatly — that he will not support a conservative, third-party bid for the presidency. At the same time he is displeased with much of the thrust of the Ford administration. Specifically, he did not like the appointment of Nelson Rockefeller — although he and the Vice-President have now made their peace. And he is displeased with the size of the tax cut — and thinks the President should have vetoed it. More than anything, Goldwater takes the traditional right-wing position against deficit-spending, in Ford's words of this approach to solving economic problems. "Scratch the surface of the Ford programs and you always find the Keynes philosophy" is the way Goldwater sees it to view the President's economic thinking — despite Mr. Ford's frequent admonitions against big spending and big deficits.

Goldwater is warm to Reagan. But Reagan is telling Goldwater he is not a candidate. At the same time he will not rule out the possibility that the former California legislator will run. Goldwater feels that he wants the presidency he should run for it and say so. He thinks Reagan's chance not to seek the White House is fading. He will not be elected president if he were elected president.

Now the situation is different. Goldwater puts honesty and straightforwardness above everything else — above the rating of those who hold the

This should provide, for the Arabs, nearly total withdrawal by the Israelis from the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and Sharm el Sheikh. (Israel should be given minor territorial adjustments in the Latrun salient and be allowed to expand its sector of Jerusalem to give it access to the Wailing Wall.)

In return, the settlement should provide, for the Israelis, as close to iron-clad political and military guarantees of Israel (as of Arab) security thereafter as can be devised, including formal U.S. as well as (hopefully) Soviet and United Nations participation in them. (That Israel will consider these guarantees insufficient should not predetermine what the U.S. would consider to be adequate guarantees.)

All this is to say that Goldwater

COMMENTARY

Melvin Maddocks

Beastly friends

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Defusing the Mideast

By William E. Griffith

The following is excerpted from an article to appear in France's bimonthly *Politique Étrangère*.

They will be much U.S. congressional and public opposition to a U.S. commitment to guarantee Israel, and it will be fueled by Israeli opposition as well, for Jerusalem will prefer, now more than ever, territory to guarantees. But in my view it should be made, for the alternative is at best recurrent wars and oil limitations or at worst the destruction of Israel. Either or both is so contrary to U.S. interests and commitments that a firm U.S. effort to prevent them is worthwhile.

How can the U.S. get such a plan for settlement adopted? As to Israel's evacuation of the occupied territories, it should privately make clear to Israel that it will suspend arms aid and private U.S. contributions unless and until Israel agrees to the above plan. Washington must be prepared to ride out all opposition, Israel-inspired and otherwise, to this course.

The plan must be implemented step by step: evacuation and guarantees should be gradual and according to a fixed timetable. The U.S. must also make clear that unless the Arabs recognize Israel's independence and security, within the 1967 boundaries they will not get back the occupied territories; and, moreover, that the U.S. will undertake, whatever measures are necessary, including military force, to break an oil limitation by the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, before or after a settlement, or an Arab attack against Israel after it in order to force Israel to territorial concessions over and beyond the 1967 frontiers.

The U.S. should make public, now, the terms of its plan for settlement. It must place a time limit on its step-by-step implementation. It must obtain Israeli and Arab acceptance of it. If this plan is implemented, war and oil limitation can be avoided. Soviet influence kept low in the Middle East, and peace and security brought to that area and increased in the world. If it is not, and war and oil limitation come again, the U.S. and its allies will lose, and so will Israel and the Arabs. Only the Soviets will win.

The recent Indo-China debacle makes it even less likely that Israel will regard such U.S. guarantees as trustworthy. This Israeli view is understandable and from Israel's viewpoint perhaps correct. It is the most important immediate reason why the U.S. must try rapidly and hard to restore its damaged international credibility. But in the last analysis the U.S. must act according to its own, not Israel's estimate, of what the Soviets will do.

Mr. Griffith is a professor of political science at the Center for International Studies at MIT.

Why India took Sikkim

By Russell Brines

Washington

Indian protectorate in 1860. Long a Chinese pressure point, because of the Chumbi Valley, Sikkim was threatened by invasion in 1865 during a Peking propaganda campaign to help Pakistan in the Indo-Pakistani war. The ruler or chogyal called for help, and the Indians moved in a military force of some 25,000, who remained in the kingdom on permanent duty.

Incorporation of Sikkim probably will lead to further Indian efforts to tighten control over Bhutan and to increase Indian influence in Nepal. Chinese troops poured across the Thagla ridge in Bhutan in 1862, and so Indian security would be incomplete without plugging that invasion route. Bhutan, a kingdom of 85,000, has been dependent upon Indian defense since a Chinese threat in 1950 but has maintained semi-independence in other affairs. The larger kingdom of Nepal, with 11 million residents and its fierce Gurkha fighters, long has maintained a love-hate relationship with India. It has been a particularly significant arena of Indo-Indian skirmishing for position.

This new dimension in Indian preparedness underlines New Delhi's determination to create an unassailable military position, even if this involves big-power practices which it has condemned when used by other nations. The Indians clearly are anticipating the total withdrawal of British power from this area and a further reduction in the American presence. The time has passed, perhaps, when in the past they will call for American naval and aerial help against Chinese threats. Further, the Indians will continue to depend upon Soviet arms and political support, but evidently they do not expect, and do not want, direct Soviet participation in a Chinese crisis.

By building a local power base with vigor and determination, without concern for world reaction, India is setting a pattern for regional independence and security which other rising nations, like Iran, seem determined to adopt to protect themselves in the world's changing power relationships. This is the ultimate development of Nehru's original concept of nonalignment which once was so influential in the emergent world.

The writer, author of the "Indo-Pakistani Conflict," has covered Asian affairs for years.